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LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

VOL. I

(Āhnikās 1-3)

BY

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Professor of Sanskrit, Annamalai University.

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जयत्वण्णामलैविश्वविद्यास्थानमिदं सदा ।

जयतात्सांस्कृती विद्या सदा सर्वैस्समाहता ॥

जयत्वण्णामलैश्रेष्ठी राजासर्विरुद्राङ्कितः ।

श्रेष्ठिराष्टस्य राजासौ विद्यास्थानप्रपोषकः ॥



Tabular Statement showing the number of sūtras in each pāda of Aṣṭādhyāyī, the number of sūtras reviewed by Vārttikakāra or Vārttika-kāras, Bhāṣyakāra etc.

Adhyāya in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī	No of Pāda	No. of Sūtras	No. of sūtras with the vārttikas of one Vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras with the vārttika of more than one Vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras wherein vārttikas are explanatory	No. of sūtras wherein vārttikas amend sūtras	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Vārttikakāra	No. of sūtras with bhāṣya alone	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Bhāṣyakāra	No. of sūtras wherein Bhāṣyakāra defend Sūtrakara against Vārttikakāra	No. of ānūtikas in each pāda	No. of sūtras review- ed in each pāda
I	i 75 ii 73 iii 93 iv 110	52 40 31 31	5 1	47 36 17 27	4 2 15 4	6 2	18 14 10 24	2 2 7	1 1 2 1	2 + 7 3 2 4	67 54 42 55	
II	i 72 ii 38 iii 73 iv 85	27 20 29 31	3 1	17 15 13 17	10 5 19 15	19 6 11 11	19 6 11 11	1 6 2	1 6 2	3 2 3 2	46 26 43 43	
III	i 150 ii 188 iii 176 iv 117	69 53 49 19	4 2	43 25 19 17	30 30 30 2	16 7 9 10	16 7 9 10	1 5	1 5	6 3 2 1	89 62 58 29	
IV	i 176 ii 145 iii 168 iv 144	65 35 34 12	1 1	36 17 24 6	30 18 11 6	21 20 6 7	21 20 6 7	3 1	6 2 2 1	4 2 2 1	87 55 41 19	
V	i 136 ii 140 iii 119 iv 160	47 42 33 25	1	24 15 20 10	23 27 14 15	12 20 13 11	12 20 13 11	1	1 1	2 2 2 1	59 62 47 36	
VI	i 223 ii 199 iii 139 iv 175	93 33 47 56	1	54 21 15 32	40 12 32 25	28 5 18 13	28 5 18 13	2	3 3 3 4	6 2 3 4	122 38 65 70	
VII	i 103 ii 118 iii 120 iv 97	30 36 37 24	1 1	20 29 16 12	11 7 22 12	27 22 11 8	27 22 11 8	1 1	1 1	2 2 2 1	58 58 49 32	
VIII	i 74 ii 108 iii 119 iv 68	24 42 35 27	2 1	19 22 11 13	7 20 24 15	7 12 19 8	7 12 19 8	1 2	1 2	2 2 2 1	33 54 54 36	
Total	32	3981	1228	26	709	537	8	435	16	36	85	1689

MAP OF ANCIENT INDIA.



BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Rgvēda	R. V.
Yajurveda	
Vājasaneyiasamhitā	V. S.
Sāmaveda	
Atharvaveda	A. V.
Śatapatha—Brāhmaṇa	
Mundakōpaniṣad	
Mahābhārata—Śāntiparvan.	
Uttararāmāyaṇa	U. R.
Bāndhāyana Dharmasūtra	B. D. Bōdh. Dharmas.
Bāudhāyana Grhyasūtra	
Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī	P.
Pāṇinīya Śikṣā	
Vyāḍi's Saṅgraha	
Yāska's Nirukta	N.
Jaiminīyasūtra	
Tāittirīya Prātiśākhya	
Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya	
Tolkāppiyam (Tamil)	
Tirumurukārruppatai (Tamil)	
Gāutama's Nyāyabhāṣya	
Mahābhāṣya	M. B.
	Chowkamba Edition
	Kedhorn's Edition
	Nirnayasagar Edition
Yogasūtra	
Manudharmasāstra	M.
Sāmaveda Grhyapariśiṣṭa	
Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā	
Do.	Vākyaapadīya
Amarakōśa	
Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters	
A record of the Buddhist religion by Itasing and translated by	
	Takakura

- Sphōṭasiddhā by Mandana Miśra
 Vākyapatiya's Commentary by Puṇyariāja
 Śiṣupālavadhā Śi.
 Kālyāṇa's Pradīpa
 Anuambhaṭṭa's Uddyōtana
 Sāyanācārya's R̥gvēdabhāṣya
 Śabdamanjūśarpāṇa (Kannada)
 Siddhāntakāumudī
 Manōramā } by Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit
 Śabdakaustubha }
 Rāmabhadra Dīkṣit's Patañjalīcarita
 Uddyōta }
 Lāghumanjūsā } by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa
 Abhūdhanuśāntāmari
 Śabdakalpadruma
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 Studies on Pāṇini's Grammar by Faddegon
 Pāṇini and the Vēda by Paul Thieme
 Pāṇini and the Vēda by A. B. Keith (Indian Culture Vol. II)
 Thieme and Pāṇini by Batakrishna Ghosh (*ibid* Vol. IV)

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Tabular Statement showing the number of sūtras etc.	i
Ancient India Map	ii
Bibliography and abbreviation	iii—iv
Contents	v—viii
Foreword	ix—x
Homage to Ācāryas	xi
Paṭaṅjali in the presence of Lord Natarāja	xii
Preface	xiii—lxv
<i>Pāṇini</i>	xiii—xxxii
Pāṇini's birthplace	xiv
Was Pāṇini the author of Gaṇapāṭha ?	xxi
Was Pāṇini the author of Dhātupāṭha ?	xxiii
Was Pāṇini the author of Uṇādi or not ?	xxv
Was Pāṇini aware of the existence of Atharvavēda ?	xxv
Pāṇini's knowledge of the classification of the Vēdas into Mantra and Brāhmaṇa and the the existence of Kalpasūtras etc.	xxvii
The plan, the principle of composition etc. in the Aṣṭādhyāyī etc.	xxxi
His other work	xxxii
<i>Kātyāyana—Vararuci</i>	xxxiii—xliv
Relationship of Vārttikas to Pāṇini's sūtras	xxxiii
Kātyāyana was later than Pāṇini	xxxiv
Kātyāyana's birth-place etc.	xxxviii
Merits of Kātyāyana	xl

<i>Patañjali</i>	..	xliv—lxiv
His life	..	xliv
Patañjali's knowledge of medicine	..	lii
His wide knowledge of the world	..	liii
The Nyāyas and their applications	..	lvi
Framing and using paribhāṣās	..	lix
His having aware of the different dialects of Sanskrit	..	lxi
His recognition that Pāṇini's grammar deals with words found in all Vēdas	..	lxii
Method adopted in writing Bhāṣya	..	lxiii
Dates of Patañjali, Kātyāyana and Pāṇini	..	lxiv
Introduction	..	1—5
<i>Puṣpaśāhnika</i>	..	6—86
i. The commencement of the Śāstra	..	6—11
ii. The classification of words	..	11—15
iii. The definition of Śabda	..	16—20
iv. The use of the study of this Śāstra	..	20—44
v. The method to be adopted in expounding the Śāstra	..	44—48
vi. The Nityatva or the Kāryatva of śabda	..	48—50
vii. The need for the śāstra on account of its expounding that correct words are needed for dharma	..	50—72
viii. The meaning of the word Vyākaraṇa	..	72—79
ix. The need for making use of the pratyāhāra sūtras	..	79—86
<i>Pratyāhārāhnika</i>		
I. अइउण्		
i. Vivṛtōpadēśa in अ of अइउण्	..	87—90

	PAGE
ii. Vivṛtōpadēśa in अ of roots stems etc. ..	90—94
iii. " in अ of the sūtras like अस्य च्वा ..	94—104
II. कलरु ..	105—116
III. & IV. एओङ् ऐऔच्	
i. To read एओङ् ऐऔच् or एन्आन्ङ् ऐन् औच् ..	116—120
ii. To read or not to read दीर्घ in sūtras which enjoin एच् as ēkādēśa ..	121—125
iii. Whether such sounds as form part of diphthongs, long vowels, र् and / and as are similar to others are to be taken as their limbs or not ..	125—137
V. हयवरद	
i. The need for reading ह in two sūtras ..	138—140
ii. Which is better हयवरद or हरयचद ? ..	140—143
iii. Where are अयोगवाहs taken to be read ? ..	143—148
iv. Do letters have meaning or not ? ..	148—156
v. Why are not anubandhas in प्रत्याहार taken as अच् ? ..	157—159
vi. Why should semi-vowels be mentioned in the sūtra अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ..	160—163
VI. लण् ..	163—171
VII. & VIII. अमङ्गणनम्, झमञ् ..	171—173
IX. Explanation of the ślōkavārttika अक्षरे न क्षरे विद्यात् ..	173—175
<i>Vṛddhyāhnika</i>	
I. वृद्धिरादैच्	
i. Why was not this sūtra read as वृद्धिरादैच् ? ..	176—177
ii. Is वृद्धिरादैच् uddēśya or आदैच् alone ? ..	177—180
iii. Need for the adbhikārasūtra अय संज्ञा at the beginning. ..	181—186

iv. Is this sūtra samjñā-vidhāyaka or śabda-sādhutva-vidhāyaka ? ..	186—189
v. Of the two वृद्धिः and आदेच् which is संज्ञा and which is संज्ञिन् ? ..	189—193
vi. अन्योच्चाश्रयतावारणम् ..	193—195
vii. The need for the word प्रत्येकम् both in this sūtra and the next ..	195—197
viii. What is the need for तपरकरण in आत् of आदेच् ? ..	197—202
II. इको गुणवृद्धी	
i. The need for इकः in the sūtra ..	203—207
ii. The need for the anuvṛtti of the words guṇa and vṛddhi from the previous sūtras ..	208—211
iii. Whether this sūtra and alōntyasya have the relationship of śeṣaśeṣitva ..	212—217
iv. Whether this sūtra and alōntyasya are in the relationship of utsargāpavāda ..	212—217
v. Whether this sūtra and alōntyasya are not at all connected with each other ..	217—220
vi. Wherever guṇa or vṛddhi is enjoined, the word इकः appears there. ..	221—222
vii. What will be the harm if the word vṛddhi is not in this sūtra ? ..	223
viii. Whether this sūtra is a vidhi-sūtra or a paribhāṣā ..	233
Corrigenda ..	237
Indexes ..	239



FOREWORD

BY

Mahamahopādhyāya, Vidyāraṇjanapālī, Darśanākalāṣidhī, Kulapati
Sri S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRIAR, M.A., I.E.S. (RETD.)

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retired Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras
and retired Honorary Professor of Sanskrit and Dean of the Faculty
of Oriental Studies in the Annamalai University.*

My friend Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M. A., L. T., PH. D., has decided to confer upon me the pleasant and precious privilege of sponsoring, in a short foreword, these lectures in English on the first three āhnikas of *Sri Mahābhāṣya* by *Bhagavān Patanjali*. In exercising this privilege, I am happy to say that Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has had the good fortune of studying the *Mahābhāṣya* under able teachers and has eagerly sought to acquire suitable opportunities for teaching the *Mahābhāṣya* through the medium of Sanskrit as well as English to Siromani students and to undergraduates studying for the Sanskrit Honours examination of the Annamalai University. A modern *belletrist* of the *Paramāikāntin* type in English and Sanskrit would prefer *Shakespeare* and *Kālidāsa* to the whole of the British Empire if he were asked to choose between the Empire and the works of these great poets. In India, the *Vāiyākaraṇa* tradition cherishes the oft-repeated saying महाभाष्यं वा पाठनीयम् महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्. If a *privilege-calculus*, similar to the *Ananda-calculus* of the *Tāittīriyōpaniṣad* should be worked out by *Vāiyākaraṇa* traditionists, they would give a scheme in which the opportunity to study and teach the *Mahābhāṣya* is on a par with Supreme Sovereignty in a political sense. Remembering all this, Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has happily chosen portions of the *Mahābhāṣya* for

critical exposition through the medium of English in this work which is designed particularly to be of use to undergraduates studying for the Honours Degree examinations in Indian Universities.* The exposition is critical and accurate as far as it goes and is lucid, easy and quite in conformity with traditional commentaries. A very useful and copious Introduction is prefixed to this work and Dr. Sastri has used and reviewed all the available material of importance in the writings of several modern scholars—Dr. Kielhorn, Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Max-Müller, Dr. Goldstücker, Dr. Faddegon, Dr. Thieme and Dr. Pawate.

This work, which is now being published by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, carries with it my prayerful wishes and hearty congratulations in the same way and to the same extent as many other works he has been producing and publishing of late in Sanskrit and in Tamil.

सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्

(Camp) Ganapatiagraharom,
(via) Ayyanpet,
Tanjore Dt., S. I. Ry.

}

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI

6—6—43.



अष्टाध्यायीप्रणेतारं दाक्षीपुत्रं सुपाणिनिम् ।
वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ॥
चोक्षनाथं मस्तिवरं भाष्यरत्नावलीकृतम् ।
वेङ्कटाध्वरिणदिक्षव्यं रामभद्रगुरुं वरम् ॥
नीलकण्ठं यतिवरं क्षेत्रपालनिवासिनम् ।
अद्वैतमार्गनिष्णातं शब्दशास्त्रमहोदधिम् ॥
वैद्यनाथं द्विजं मित्रं मरुरग्रामनिवासिनम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रप्रवक्तारं गीताधर्थप्रकाशकम् ॥
प्रणम्य तान् गुरुन् सर्वान् प्रसन्नमनसाधुना ।
कुर्वे आङ्गलभारत्या महाभाष्यविमर्शिनम् ॥



PREFACE

Pāṇini, Kātyāyana-Vararuci and Patañjali form the Manitrajam in Sanskrit Grammar.

PĀṆINI

Patañjali observes that *Pāṇini* was the son of *Dākṣi*,¹ a great ancestor of the author of the *Saṅgraha*,² that *Kāutsa* was his pupil³ and he was known even to children.⁴ He was recognised to be such a great grammarian as to receive the epithets *ācārya*, *bhagavān* and *sukṛt* from great scholars like *Kātyāyana*⁵ and *Patañjali*.⁶ The word पश्यति makes us infer that *Patañjali* considered him a *ṛṣi*. Yuan Chwang,

- 1 Cf. सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनिः (M. B. under दाषा ष्वदाप I-1-20. and शुभ्रदस्तत्त्वां वसोश VII-1-27.)
- 2 Cf. योमना खल दाक्षायणेन सङ्ग्रहस्य कृतिः (M. B. under उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणे II-3-60.)
- 3 Cf. उपसोदिवान् कौलः पाणिनिम् (M. B. under माषायो मदवसयुक् III-2-108.)
- 4 Cf. आङ्गनां यशः पाणिनेः (M. B. under आङ्ग नयांदावचने I-4-89.)
- 5 Cf. एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा . . . भगवतः पाणिनेस्सिद्धम् (Vārttika under अ अ. VIII-4-08); आचार्याचारतः संज्ञासिद्धिः (id under रुदिरदैच I-1-1.) बहुनीहित्वं शास्त्रि समासान्तविधेः सुकृत्, (id under बहुनीही प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् VI-2-1.)
- 6 प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः . . . सूत्राणि प्रणयात् स्म (M. B. under रुदिरदैच I-1-1.) तदुपसंविद्वानाङ्गमवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य (id under एकान्तो द्वे प्रथमस्य VII-1-1.) मातृलिक आचार्यः (id under रुदिरदैच I-1-1 and भवादर्थो घातवः I-3-1.)
- 7 पश्यति त्वाचार्यः (id under जनसन्ततनां सङ्गालोः VI-4-42. etc.)

the Chinese traveller, also calls him so.¹ I-tsing, another Chinese traveller, states thus:—"The *sūtra* is the foundation of all grammatical science... It contains 1000 *ślokas*² and is the work of *Pāṇini*... Children begin to learn the *sūtra* when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months time."³ *Rāmabhadra Dikṣita* tells us that his father was a *ṛṣi* named *Pañi*.⁴ *Śabdakalpadruma* says that *Pāṇini* was recognised by other names also, viz. *Ahika*, *Śalanīkī*, *Pāṇina* and *Śalāturiya*.

PĀNINI'S BIRTH-PLACE.

Yuan Chwang, the commentator on *Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and most of the modern scholars consider *Pāṇini* to be a native of *Śalātura*, a village near modern Attock in *Gāndhāra*. R. O. Franke thinks that he was born in the north (*Śalātura*), but had come to the east (*Pāṭaliputra*).⁵ The author of the *Śabdakalpadruma*, however, says that his forefathers belonged to *Śalātura*⁶ and he

1 The *rishi* applied himself earnestly to selecting from the stock of words and formed an etymology of 1000 stanzas each of 32 words. (On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters I pp. 221 and 222. Words seem to be a wrong translation for syllables.)

2 *Ślokas* refer to *granthas* with 32 syllables.

3 A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing p. 178 and translated by J. Takakura.

4 पर्णीति कश्चिन्नुनिरस्ति पूर्वं स पाणिने नाम कुमारमाप ।
स्वतुल्यतान्ना तनयेन सोऽपि दाक्षीमुदङ्गा इवमभ्यनन्दत् ॥ (*Paṭanjalicarita* I-47.)

5 *Pāṇini and the Veda* by Dr. Paul Thieme p. 76.

6 अथ पाणिनी ।

कालतुरीयदासेयौ ॥ (अभिधानचिन्तामणौ)

गान्धाराप्रदेशविशेषकालतुरग्रामजातत्वादेवास्य तथा नाम इति* अभिधानचिन्तामणिटीकायाम् ।

तुरीयकालतुर . . . (IV-3-94) सूत्रात् अभिजनार्थे एव छम् प्रत्ययः । अतः स्पष्टतः

कालतुरप्रदेशः पाणिनेः पूर्वपुरुषाणां वासस्थानमित्येव अवगम्यते न तु तस्येति (शब्दकल्पद्रुमे)

अथ निवासभिन्नयोः को विशेषः ? निवासो नाम यत्र सम्प्रत्युच्यते । अभिजने नाम यत्र पूर्वैकचितम् (M. B. under S. IV-3-90.)

was not born there. If so, we have to determine his birth-place. *Jāmini* and *Bhartṛhari* state that *Vyākaraṇa* is a *smṛti* written by *śiṣṭas*.¹ *Ācārya Pāṇini* was considered a *śiṣṭa* by *Patañjali* and his followers. *Śiṣṭas*,² according to *Patañjali*, are those *brāhmaṇas* who resided in *Āryāvarta* bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by *Pāriyātra* (a portion of the Vindhya), on the east by *Kālakavana* (near Rajmahal hills in Bengal) and on the west by *Ādarśa* (Aravalli hills)³ and who were proficient in some *śāstra*, full of contentment, free from avarice, possessing high character and doing their duty without expecting any reward therefor—*धर्माभिनिवाशिनः*. Therefore it may not be wrong if we consider him to have lived in *Āryāvarta*. His mention of the eastern country in *sūtras* like एह् प्राचां देशे (I-1-75), प्राचां नगरान्ते (VII-3-24), and of the northern country in *sūtras* like उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वोऽन्तोवात्तात् (IV-2-100), and his reference to the opinion of the eastern and northern schools in *sūtras* like शोणाद्याचाम् (IV-4-43), मातरपितरौ उदीचाम् (VI-3-32) may be taken as sufficient clue to his having lived in the *madhyadēśa* whose boundary is, according to *Manudharmasūtra*, the Himalayas on the north, the Vindhya on the south, *Prayāg* or Allahabad on the

1 साधुत्वज्ञानविषया तेषां व्याकरणस्मृतिः ।

अविच्छेदेन शिक्षानामिदं स्मृतिनिबन्धनम् ॥ (वाक्यपदीये I-143.)

2 के पुनः शिष्याः ? . . . एवं तर्हि निवासतदवाचारतश्च । स चाचार आसीत्ते एव । कः पुनरासीत्तः ? । प्रागदृशोत् प्रताकालकवनान् वक्षिणेन हिमवन्तम् उत्तरेण पारियात्रम् । एतस्मिन्नावर्ते निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा अरुणानाथकारणाः किञ्चिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद् विद्यायाः पारङ्गतास्तत्रभवन्तः शिष्याः . . . शिक्षपरिज्ञानार्थो अध्याचार्यो M. B. under S. पृषोदरादिति यथोपदिष्टम् (VI-3-109) *Ādarśa* = Aravalli mountains; कलकवनः Rajmahal hills; *Pāriyātra* = West part of Vindhya (Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey.)

3 The same idea is mentioned in *Bāudhāyana Dharma sūtra* I-1-2-10.

east and *Vinaṣana* or the plains at *Ād-badri* where the river *Sarasvatī* disappears on the west.¹ The eastern country referred to by him may denote the countries situated south-east of the *Śarāvati* and may consist of the Kasi, Kosala, Vidarbha and Magadha² and the northern country may denote those situated north-west thereof.³ The *Śarāvati* is identified by Wilford with *Bāgaṅga* which passes through the district of Budaon in Rohilkand.⁴ In *Madhyadēśa*, he may have lived as near *Vipāśu* or the Beas as possible as he enjoins the *pratyaya* अत्र to the names of the wells north of her.⁵ Most of the countries like *Kuru Pañcāla* and cities like *Uśinara* mentioned by him in the *sūtras* are nearer *madhyadēśa* than the eastern and northern countries though some are nearer the northern country. The names of most of the characters found in the *Mahābhārata* are mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*⁶ and the place of accent in the word *महाभारत* is stated in the *sūtra* महान् व्रीहि ... भारत ... प्रवृद्धेषु (VI-2-38). *Kāuśāmbī*, the birth-place of *Kātyāyana*, the *Vārttikakāra* and *Prayāg*, the abode of the sage *Bhāradvāja* and probably of the *Vārttikakāras* who went by the name of *Bhāradvājīyas* are in the *Madhyadēśa*, the probable abode of the *Sūtrakāra*. It has already been said that *Śalātura* was the residence of his forefathers and he seems to have

1 हिमवदिन्धुवर्मण्यं यत्प्राक्त्तिनशनादीप ।

इत्यनेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ (Mann. II-21)

2 लोकोऽयं भारतं वर्षं शरावत्यास्तु योऽवधेः ।

देशः प्राग्दक्षिणः प्राच्यः उदीच्यः पश्चिमोत्तरः ॥ (Amarakōśa)

3 & 4 Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey.

5 उदक् च विप्रासः

6 ... अम्बेऽम्बलेऽम्बिके (VI-1-118), वानुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन (IV-3-08), भीमादयो-
वपदानि (III-4-74), ओणपर्वत ... (IV-1-103), कुरुतादिभ्यो ण्यः (IV-1-172),
साध्वेवगान्धारिभ्यो च (IV-1-169), पाराशर्याशिलान्दिभ्यो भिक्षुनःसूत्रयोः (4-3-110).

some knowledge of the places from *Śolātura* to *Madhyudīśa* at least the places mentioned by him—*Takṣaśīla*,¹ *Bāhika*,² *Kēkaya*,³ *Trigarta*,⁴ *Parvata*,⁵ etc.

IS PĀṆINI'S AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ A COMPILATION OR AN ORIGINAL WORK ?

"*Pāṇini* was not the inventor of the Grammatical system preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, made his own additions to it . . . He availed himself of the technical terms of the older grammarians."

"*Pāṇini* got handed down to him as *Upadeśa* from his *ācāryas* a book of *sūtras* which conformed to the *paribhāṣas* now found in the *Aṣṭd.*, with the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *ganapāṭha* as companion volumes to that book of *sūtras*. The book of *sūtras*, *Pāṇini* found, was incomplete and inadequate as a manual of Sanskrit grammar. So he proceeded to enlarge it mainly by incorporating with it *sūtras* borrowed from grammatical works belonging to schools of grammar other than his own; . . . by framing, wherever necessary, fresh *sūtras* of his own and adding them to it" "In the *Aṣṭd.* itself only those *sūtras* can be definitely ascribed to *Pāṇini* which, though they do not go against the *Paribhāṣas* found in the *Aṣṭd.*, yet can be shown to be additions by *Pāṇini* by the three tests of *maṇḍūkaphluti*, the *चानुक्तस्योत्तरचानुवृत्तिः* and the purposeless *yogavibhāga*. Such *sūtras* form only a

1 सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो णक्त्वा (IV-3-93).

2 बह्विक्यमेन्द्रव (IV-2-117).

3 केकयमिन्द्रयुपलयाणो वादेरेवः (VII-3-2).

4 भार्गव त्रैलोक्ये (IV-1-111).

5 The word *Parvata* in the *sūtras* आनुवर्जोऽभिन्वयः (IV-3-91) पर्वते पर्वतश्च (IV-2-143) may refer to the country. (*Geographical Dictionary* by N. L. Dey.)

6 *Pāṇini and his place in Literature* by T. Goldstucker p. 88.

7 The structure of the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* by I. S. Pawate p. 114.

negligible minority in the *Aṣṭad.* Then why call the *Aṣṭad.* system of grammar the *Pāṇinīya* at all? Why? Because—answer *Patanjali* and *Yama* and *Jayāditya*—it is पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम्, न तु कृतम्—*Paspaśa* तेन प्रोक्तम् IV-III-101 . . . यत्नेन प्रोक्तम् न च तेन कृतम्. ¹

Pawate took पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् पाणिनीयम् found in *Paspaśa* along with the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra* तेन प्रोक्तम् and came to the conclusion that *Pāṇini* is more a *Pravaktr* than the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But, *Patanjali* has conclusively proved from the use of the words प्रणयति स्म, प्रयुङ्क्ते, करोति, कियन्ते, कृतिः, कर्ता, पठितम्, शास्त्रि, आह etc. in the following quotations that *Pāṇini* is not a mere *Pravaktr* but also the author, प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचावकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म (M. B. under वृद्धिरादैच् 1-1-1).

माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते (*ibid*).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यः—‘आदेशो यः सकारस्तस्य पत्वम्’ इति.—ततो वसिष्ठहणं करोति (*ibid* under आदेशप्रत्ययोः VII-3-59).

देव्याः सूत्रनिबन्धाः कियन्ते (*ibid* under अतिशायने तमविष्टनौ V-3-55).

शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य कृतिः (*ibid* under उभयप्रातौ कर्मणि II-3-66).

य एव तस्य समयस्य कर्ता स एवेदमप्याह (*ibid* under वासरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् III-1-94).

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितं पठ्या च निर्देशः कृतः (*ibid* under . . . पृङ्गोरे IV-1-78).

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितम् (*ibid* under V-1-115).

¹ *ibid.* pp. 118-119.

² *ibid* p. 123.

³ न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या न च केवलः प्रत्ययः

यद्वाङ्मनादिभ्यो यने शास्ति (M. B. under ब्रह्मणमात्रवाङ्मनाद्यन् IV-2-12).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यः — न विशद्व आदेशो भवति — इति. ततस्तस्य परमात्रेदितमनुदात्तं जेत्याह (ibid under सर्वस्यङ्गे VIII-1-1)

The statement "*Pāṇini* got handed down as *upadīśa* from his *ācāryas* a book of *sūtras*" is quite contrary to the statement of the author of the *Kāśikā* "विनोपदेशेन आतमुपजातं, स्वयमभिसंवद्धमित्यर्थः. पाणिनिनोपजातं पाणिनीयमकालकं व्याकरणम्" under the *sūtra* उपजाते (IV-3-115)

Besides *Patanjali* clearly states that *Vyākaraṇa* is not *uītya* as *chandō-brāhmaṇāni*.

(Cf. अन्यत्राभिधेयमनित्यं भवति) पाणिनीयमिति वा पाणिनीया इति वा (M. B. under छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि IV-2-66).

न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते, नित्यानि छन्दांसि (ibid under तेन प्रोक्तम् IV-3-10L.)

In about 4000 *sūtras* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Pāṇini* mentions the names of seers who held different views in 19 *sūtras*,¹ the name of *ācāryas* in general in two *sūtras*, *ikṣ* in one *sūtra*, *sarṇe* in one *sūtra*, *prācām* and *udīcām* in about 20 *sūtras*. Besides, the *sūtras* जनपदे लुप् (IV-2-81), घरणादिभ्यश्च (IV-2-82), लुपि युक्तचट्प्रत्ययवचने (I-2-51),² औङ आपः (VII-1-18),³ आङि चापः (VII-3-105)⁴ and आङो नास्त्रियाम् (VII-3-120) are considered to be the *sūtras* of his predecessors. Thus only about fifty *sūtras* deal with the opinion of others.

Hence it seems that *Aṣṭādhyāyī* should be taken only as an original contribution of *Pāṇini* to the grammatical literature and not a compilation of the *sūtras* of previous

1 वाक्यः—4; वाक्यावनः—3; गालवः, गाम्बः, वाचायाः each 2; कश्यपः, रजोदायनः, वाकवर्मणः, भारद्वाजः, आपिशलिः, सेतकः each 1;

2 व्यक्तिवचने इति च लिङ्गसङ्ख्ययोः पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशः । तदीयैर्भेदं सूत्रम् (काशिका)

3 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं, पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धकाः न तैरिहोक्तव्याणि क्रियन्ते (महाभाष्यम्)

4 आङिति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन गृहीतव्यवचने गृह्यते (काशिका)

authors, though he made use of *saṃjñās* of his predecessors, and adopted their method as in the use of इत् etc.

Pawate considers that जनपदे लुप, वरणादिभ्यश्च, लुपि वृक-
बहुवचिकचने, are the *sūtras* of *pūrvācāryas* and they are refuted
by *Pāṇini* in the *sūtras* तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् and लुप्योनाग्रव्यानात्
and ओङ् आपः, आङो नास्त्रियाम्, आङि चापः were incorporated
by *Pāṇini* from previous authors.¹

Barend Faddegon thinks that the five *sūtras* beginning
with तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् (I-2-53) are interpolations. "The
interpolation consisted originally in *sūtra* 53, an antagonistic
opinion current in the old grammarian schools and well
explained and refuted by *Patanjali*. Its insertion after
I-2-52 is due to the artificial term *lup* used in *sūtra* I-2-51.
Afterwards the term *saṃjñā* was misunderstood and a long
series of objections were interpolated by schoolmasters who
did not understand the worth of *Pāṇini's* researches."²

Faddegon's theory mostly rests on the interpretation of
the sentence किं या एताः कृत्रिमाश्रियुमादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम्;
नेत्याहः संज्ञानं संज्ञा found in the *Mahābhāṣya* under तदशिष्यं
संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्. Both the author of the *Kāśikā* and Faddegon
have taken the sentence किं या एताः कृत्रिमाश्रियुमादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामा-
ण्यादशिष्यम् to be the statement of *pūrvapakṣin*. But the
former holds the view that the *pūrvapakṣin* without correctly
understanding what तत् in तदशिष्यं stands for and mistaking
that it refers to the *saṃjñās* created by *Pāṇini* asked
whether *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha* etc. need not be mentioned and the
siddhāntin replies that it was not so since the word संज्ञा in
संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् refers only to those *saṃjñās* whose meaning
can be well understood. There are many instances in the
Mahābhāṣya wherein questions are put by *pūrvapakṣin*

1 The structure of the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* (pp. 110-114.)

2 Studies on *Pāṇini's* grammar by Barend Faddegon (pp. 57-59.)

without understanding the correct meaning. Besides he seems to have taken संज्ञा to mean संज्ञान; but संज्ञा (in the *sūtra*) means that through which correct denotation is produced and hence it is said संज्ञाशब्दा हि नानालिङ्गसङ्ख्याः. Faddegon thinks that the interpretations of *Patāñjali* and the author of the *Kāśikā* on संज्ञाने संज्ञा are different. Since the *Vārttikakāra* himself says पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीते इति under the *sūtra* अनुपसर्जनात् (IV-1-14) and the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* says पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं under औड आपः (VII-1-18) पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशश्च under अहोऽदन्तात् (VIII-4-7), it is quite possible that *Pāṇini* may have incorporated some *sūtras* of the previous authors like *Āpīsali* and *Kāśakṛtsna* whose works are definitely understood from the *Mahābhāṣya* to have preceded *Pāṇini's*.

WAS PĀṢINI THE AUTHOR OF THE GAṆAPĀTHA OR NOT?

Pawate says that 'it seems that the whole of the *Gaṇapāṭha* and consequently the *sūtras* for which the various *gaṇas* were written are pre-*Pāṇinian*' and "*Pāṇini* received the whole of the *Gaṇapāṭha* from his predecessors as उपदेश". The arguments that he adduces thereto are that, according to the प्राचीनकारिका

घातुसूत्रगणोणादिवाक्यलिङ्गानुशासनम् ।

आगमप्रत्ययादेशा उपदेशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

upadēṣa includes the *gaṇapāṭha*, and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* states 'उपदेश इत्युक्ते शुरुकर्तृकतायाः स्वरसतः प्रतीतिः'¹ and "*Kātyāyana* held that the *Gaṇapāṭha* preceded the *Sūtrapāṭha*"^{2,4} and the statement

1 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीते
काशकृत्स्निना श्रेष्ठ मोमांसा

} (*Vārttika* under IV-1-14.)

तथा तापिशलेर्विधिः *Vārttika* under IV-2-45.

वापिशलप्राणिनीयव्याख्यामौतमांसाः (M. B. under S. अनुपसर्जनदन्तेनालो VI-2-36.)

2 The structure of the *Aṣṭadhyayi* pp. 86 and 87.

3 *Udayota* under वृत्तिसमवाचार्थ उपदेशः in *Pospatā* in *Mahābhāṣya*.

4 The structure of the *Aṣṭadhyayi* pp. 86-88.

in the *Mahābhāṣya* "इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं, व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा भविति" which suggests that there were two ways of reading सर्वादिगण

In the *kārikā* there is mention of सूत्र also and the expression of *Nāgajībhalla* स्वरसतः प्रतीतिः suggests that the word उपदेश has more meanings than one and *Paṇḍjali* himself gives two meanings to it प्रत्यक्षमारव्यानमुपदेशः and गुणैः प्रापण-मुपदेशः under the *sūtra* उपदेशोऽजनुनासिक इत् (1-3-2). Two ways of reading सर्वादिगण might have existed at the time of *Paṇḍjali*, of which one was generally preferred. There are certain definite statements in the *Mahābhāṣya* which suggest that the framework of the *gaṇapāṭha* was the work of *Pāṇini* and it was further amplified by later authors.

1. अवरादीनां च पुनः सूत्रपाठे ग्रहणानर्थक्यं गणे पठितत्वात् (*Vārtika* under I-1-34). The word पुनः is appropriate only if both the *Sūtrapāṭha* and *gaṇapāṭha* are the works of the same author.

2. (a) यदयं भवन्शब्दं गौरादिषु पठति (M. B. under विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् I-4-2)

(b) यदयं कस्कादिषु आतुषुवशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य III-1-41)

(c) यत् सवनादिषु अश्वसनिशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under VIII-3-110.)

The word पठति as the predicate of आचार्य which refers to *Pāṇini* clearly tells us that, in the opinion of *Paṇḍjali* गौरादिगण, कस्कादिगण and सवनादिगण are the work of *Pāṇini*.

3. (a) एवमप्यधेः पूर्वनिपातः प्रामोतिः राजदन्तादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under V-4-7)

(b) नासिक्यो वर्ण इति परिमुखादिषु पाठः करिष्यते, नासिक्यं नगरमिति सहासादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VI-1-63)

(c) यथादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VIII-2-12)

(d) युवादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under VIII-4-7)

(e) कथं चटका मृषिकेति ? अजादिषु पाठः कर्तव्यः (*ibid.* under IV-1-63)

The expressions पाठः करिष्यते and पाठः कर्तव्यः clearly tell us that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was amplified by *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.

4. (a) अधिकरणे शेतेः पार्श्वोद्विषूपसङ्ख्यानम् (*Vārtika* under III-2-15).

(b) यदि च विन्देः सङ्ख्यामुपसङ्ख्यानम् (M.B. under III-1-138)
The word उपसङ्ख्यानम् suggests that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was supplemented by *Vārtikakāra*.

5. The inclusion of व्याडि in कौड्यादि is a clear indication that the *Gaṇapāṭha* received additions later on.

6. Some *gaṇas* were created later on:

Cf. कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोडाचर्यम् (*Vārtika* under कम्बोजाल्लुक् IV-1-175.)

चोडाचर्यम्—चोडः, कंडेरः, केरलः, (M. B. under *id.*)

Pāṇini should be credited with the authorship of the framework of *Gaṇapāṭha*, which was amplified later in several ways. The process of amplification may be said to have reached its *acme* in the well-known device of the *ākṛti-gaṇa* fiction.

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF THE DHĀTUPĀṬHA OR NOT?

"The ground-work of the only *Dhātupāṭha* we now possess is, like the ground-work of the *Uṇyādi* list, the work of *Pāṇini*." "This list makes use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of *Pāṇini*'s grammar, and their

1. *Pāṇini—His place in Sanskrit Literature* by T. Goldstücker p. 141

grammatical value is exactly the same in both works"¹ This statement of Goldstucker should be true, since *Pāṇini* limits the number of roots which undergo a particular modification as शमित्यष्टम्यो धिनुष् (III-2-141), फणो च सप्तानाम् (VI-4-125) रुद्धश्च पञ्चम्यः (VII-3-98). *Paṇṇjali* himself states that the *Dhātupāṭha* should have been a work separate from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and it should be the work of *Pāṇini*.² The meanings given to roots in the *Dhātupāṭha* is considered by *Kāśyapa* to be non-*Pāṇiniyan* and is held to be the work of *Bhīmasena* by *Nāgājibhaṭṭa*.³ *Paṇṇjali* shows that some portion of the *Dhātupāṭha* was lost before him.⁴ *Kāśyapa* shows that the *Dhātupāṭha* was amplified later by the *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.⁵

Pawate says, "The various schools of Sanskrit grammar seem to have had their own separate *Dhātupāṭhas* . . . The *Pāṇinians* themselves had their *Dhātupāṭha* in more than one version . . . But at present we have only one version of the *Pāṇinian Dhātupāṭha* and the other seems to have been irrecoverably lost . . . The author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is not the author of the Dh. P. . . The Dh. P. seems to be the work of a predecessor of *Pāṇini*. But nevertheless the arrangement of roots in the Dh. P. clearly shows that the author of the

1 *Ibid* p. 140.

2 तन्महापमत्याचार्यः 'अस्ति च पाठो वाच्यश्च सूत्रात्' इति (M. B. under *Sūtra* भूवादयो वातवः I-3-1).

वधानातायकाः आत्माचार्येण स्वरितमितः पाठिताः (M. B. under I-3-72).

3 न चाद्येपाठः परिवर्तितः तस्याप्राप्तेनास्त्वान् (*Kāśyapa* under the same *sūtra*; भूमिमेनेनेत्येतिहम् (*Uddyota*).

4 के पुनः कोपदेशा वातवः ! पाठितव्याः (M. B. under वात्वादेः षः सः VI-1-64).

के पुनर्कोपदेशा वातवः ! पाठितव्याः (M. B. under णो नः VI-1-65).

पाठितव्यासम्मवात्तवः (*Kāśyapa* under वात्वादेः षः सः).

5 सूत्रवार्तिकमाध्यमणेन ये पठन्ते तैऽपि सूत्रकारादिप्रामाण्याद्वातुत्वेनाश्रयणीयाः (*Pradīpa* under भूवादयो वातवः I-3-1).

Dh. P. knew very many *sūtras* now found in the *Aṣṭ.* and so arranged the roots in the Dh. P. as to serve the purposes of those *sūtras* "1 . . .

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF UNĀDI OR NOT ?

T. Goldstucker says, "All the *Unyādi* affixes have *anubandhas* which are exactly the same and have the same grammatical effect as those used by Pāṇini. They cannot be later than this work, for it refers to them: they cannot have preceded it, for *Paṭanjali* says that "whatever *anubandhas* occur in a *sūtra* of a former grammarian, they have no *anubandha* effect in Pāṇini's work". Consequently the *Unyādi* list must be of Pāṇini's own authorship. This conclusion is based on the interpretation that इह in the sentence पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (M. B. under ओङ् वायः VII.1.18) means Pāṇini's grammar. Can it not be interpreted to mean the *sūtras* in which such *anubandhas* have no *anubandha* effect? Besides the statement of Kātyāyaṇa उणादय इत्येव स्वमुणादीनां शास्त्रान्तरण्डितानां साधुत्वाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थमस्तु इति भावः under 8. उणादयो बहुलम् (III.3.1) and Nāgējibhaṭṭa's statement एवञ्च रुवापेत्याद्युजादि-सूत्राणि शाकटायनस्येति सूचितम् under the same *sūtra* suggest that, according to Kātyāyaṇa, *Unyādi* is the work of another grammarian and according to Nāgējibhaṭṭa it is the work of Śākaṭāyana. But T. Goldstucker says that, "since Nāgēji's conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the *Unyādi* list is of Pāṇini's authorship."

WAS PĀṆINI AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF ATHARVAVĒDA ?

T. Goldstucker argues that Pāṇini did not have a knowledge of the *Atharvavēda* since Pāṇini's *sūtras* did not

1 The Structure of the *Aṣṭadhyayi* by I. S. Pawate pp. 3-31.

2 शास्त्रान्तरे = व्याकरणान्तरे (*Uddyota*)

speak of either the compound *Atharvāṅgīrasa* or its derivative *Atharvāṅgīrasa* though he mentions the names *Āṅgīrasa* in II-4-65 and *ātharvanika* in (IV-3-133) and (VI-4-174) and though *Patañjali* mentions *आथर्वणो मन्त्रः* and *आथर्वण आम्नायः* under IV-3-133. Do the words *अथर्वेन्* and *आथर्वेण* found in the *gūṇa* under IV-2-63 mean only a literary work? Since *Atharvaveda* was named not only *अथर्वान्निरसः*¹ but also *आथर्वेण*² and since the latter is mentioned in the *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad* which is not considered later than *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, and since the word *आम्नाय* generally denotes *Vēda* in Sanskrit Literature, the statement *आथर्वेण आम्नायः* must be understood to mean *अथर्ववेदः*. Besides, when *Patañjali* at the beginning of the *Mahābhāṣya* has stated that *Pāṇini* deals with both *Vāidika* and *laukika* words, he quotes four *Vēdic* texts to represent four *Vēdas*. *शन्नो देवीरभिष्ट्ये* is the text he quotes to represent the *Atharvaveda*. He refers to the same on three more occasions :—

ओं इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति. (M. B. *Paspaḥa*.)

शन्नोदेवीयकमधीष्व (M. B. under I-3-2).

शन्नोदेवीयं संहितयाधीष्व (*ibid* under I-4-110).

The words *अथर्वेन्* and *आथर्वेण* cannot be said to mean only a *non-vēdic* literary work since the other words in the group *वसन्तः*, *ग्रीष्मः*, *वर्षा*, *शरदः*, *शरत्* ... are all taken by *Patañjali* to mean the study of *Vēda* in *vasanta* etc.³ and the context favours the view that the expression *आथर्वेण आम्नायः* refers to the *Vēda* whose seer is *Atharvama*.

1 Cf. यस्मादन्नो अथातस्तन्मन्त्रं यस्मादणक्यन्तं यन्मन्त्रं यस्मादणक्यन्तं । सामानि यस्तु सोमान्य-
यवाङ्गिरसो मुनिः स्वस्मिन्तं वृद्धिः कृतमः स्विदेव सः A. V. X-7-20.

2 Cf. ऋग्वेदेऽसमवेदोऽप्येभिः यजुर्वेदेऽसमवेदमाथर्वेण त्रयं च (Chāndōgyōpaniṣad VII-1)

3 इमन्तमहर्षिरिति मन्थयन्तं वसन्तः अभ्यवन्तम् (M. B. under IV-2-63.)

P. Thieme tells us that the word पल्यति in S. III-2-51 suggests that Pāṇini is conversant with *Atharvaveda* since पल्यति is found in A. V. 6-16-3. Patanjali, also in his statement, सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् under तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् (VI-3-14) and under पूर्वापर... (II-1-58), Kāyapa through his commentary सर्ववेदसाधारणेनानेन शब्दानां प्रतिपादनं क्रियते and Nāgajñāṇa in his gloss इदम् सर्वेषां वैदिकानां लौकिकानाञ्च शब्दानामनुशासनम् suggests that Pāṇini knew *Atharvaveda-samhitā*.

PĀṆINI'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE VEDAS INTO MANTRA AND BRĀHMAṆA AND THE EXISTENCE OF KĀLPASŌTRAS ETC

The mention of the word मन्त्रे in the *sūtras* II-4-80, III-2-74, III-3-96, VI-3-131 and VI-4-141 and of the words ब्राह्मण and कल्प in the *sūtra* पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु (IV-3-105) suggests that Pāṇini was aware of the classification of the *Vēdas* into *mantrabhāṣya* and *brāhmaṇabhāṣya*. Besides, the word पुराण suggests that some *brāhmaṇas* and *kalpas* were considered to be ancient and some to be recent. *Kāśikā* gives माह्विनिः, शाठ्यायनिनः, ऐतरेयिणः, पैङ्गी, आरण्यपराजी for the former and याज्ञवल्कानि and आश्वमेधः for the latter. From this it is evident that the author of the *Kāśikā* considered Pāṇini, Yājñavalkya, Āśmarakya to be contemporaries or the last two lived a few years before him. याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकालत्वात् (*Vārttika*) suggests that, in the opinion of Kātyāyana, Yājñavalkya was contemporary of Pāṇini. From the statement in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* जनमेजयस्यापि शतानीको भविष्यति । योऽसौ याज्ञवल्क्याद्वेदमधीत्य कृपादन्वाष्यवाप्य... शौनकोपदेशात् आत्मज्ञान-प्रवीणः... it is clear that शतानीक याज्ञवल्क्य, शौनक and कृप are

1 Pāṇini and the *Veda* by P. Thieme p. 84.

2 The *Vārttika* is interpreted in two ways:—The author of *Kāśikā*, *Bhattachārya* etc. consider Yājñavalkya to be an arcaison and Nāgajñāṇa etc. considered him to be a *prācīna*.

contemporaries. It may therefore be inferred that Pāṇini could have known *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa*. If so, he should have known *Śuklaajurnādasamhitā*. But P. Thieme says that Goldstücker was right in saying that Pāṇini did not draw upon the white *Yajurveda*.¹ The sūtra छन्दोगैक्यकयादिक बहुवनदाख्या (IV-3-129) explaining the formation of छन्दोग्य, बाहुल्य tells us that Pāṇini was aware of the *Chāndōgyopaniṣad* and the *brāhmaṇas* of the *R̥gveda*. The sūtra त्रिंशत्वारिंशतोऽर्वाहणे संहार्या उष्ण (V-1-62) may refer to कौपीनकी-वाहण and पेतरेयवाहण since they have 30 and 40 *adhyaṅgas* respectively. पेतरेयवाहणम् originated at the country between *Kera* and *Pāṇcolā* and it has already been shown that Pāṇini lived in the *Mudhyadīśa*. It is quite possible he was quite familiar with all the details relating to these *Brāhmaṇa* texts, such as the number of *adhyaṅgas* they contained.

The sūtras मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिवाजकयोः (VI-1-154) and पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनदसूत्रयोः (IV-3-110) suggest that the fourth *āśrama* was recognised before him and there was a book of sūtras dealing with things concerning *sannyāsins*. It is worth considering whether the *Bhikṣusūtra* refers to *Vedāntasūtras* since its author is said to be *Pārāśarya* here and the *adhikārin* to study it is generally considered to be *sannyāsins*. Since शिलालि is said to be the author of *Nāṭasūtra*, *nāṭya*

1. *Pāṇini and the Veda* by P. Thieme p. 74.

2. Note that कौपीनिकी is suggested in the sūtra विकर्णदुर्गोक्तकाशयोः (IV-1-124) and Cf. It is really impossible to doubt that V-1-62 with its reference to *Brāhmaṇas* of 30 and 40 chapters refers to the *Kāśikā* and *Aṭharva Brāhmaṇas*. . . It would therefore be wholly impossible to rule out knowledge by Pāṇini of other *Brāhmaṇas* merely because he fails to note striking forms therein found. How much of our Vedic literature did Pāṇini use? There is no doubt regarding the R. V. K. S., M. S., T. S., and A. V. *Pāṇini and the Veda* by A. B. Keith (Indian Culture Vol. II, p. 737).

should then have been in a developed state. The mention of the word चरण in the *sūtras* चरणस्यो धर्मवत् (IV-2-46), गोत्रचरणद्वय (IV-3-126) and चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि (VI-3-86) and the mention of तित्तिरि, कठ, कलापि etc. in the *sūtras* where तेन प्रोक्तम् has the *anuvṛtti*, clearly suggest that each *Vēda* had more than one *śākhā* in his time. The *sūtra* अध्यायेष्वेवैः IV-3-69 tells us that *Vēdas* were divided into chapters and they were named after their authors. The word उपयोग in the *sūtra* ब्राह्म्यातोपयोगे I-4-29 and its interpretation by *Paṇḍit* as नियमपूर्वकाव्ययनम् suggests that *Vēdas* were studied with नियम unlike *kāvyas*, works on *nāṭya* etc.¹

The *sūtras* नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमते (I-4-77), सातपदीनं सव्यम् (V-2-22) suggest that the important details of the marriage ceremony were the same in *Pāṇini*'s time as they are now. श्राद्धे शरदः (IV-3-12) suggests that there were *śrāddhas* enjoined in his time. The word दायद in II-3-39 suggests that there was partition of parental property. The *sūtras* यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्वृक्षसामसु (I-2-34), न सुव्रजण्यायां स्वरितस्य वृदात्तः (I-2-37), यज्ञे समि स्तुवः (III-3-31) etc. clearly show that most of the details of यज्ञ also were the same in his time as they are now.

From the points noted above it follows that there were *Śrāuta*, *Grhya*, and *Dharma* *sūtras* before *Pāṇini*'s time.

The *sūtras* आयुधजीविभ्यश्चः पर्वते (IV-3-91), ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् (V-2-71) tell us that a section of *brāhmanas* in the *Parvata* country lived on weapons.

Batakriشنا Ghosh says, “*Pragṛhya sūtras* of *Pāṇini*, *Pāṇini* must have been directly copying from the *Rk Pratiśākhya*”.²

1 उपयोगः को भवितुमर्हति ? यो नियमपूर्वकः । तस्या उपयुक्तं भागवत् इत्युच्यते, य एनं नियमपूर्वकमर्थवन्तो भवन्ति । उपयोग इति क्रियमर्थम् । नदस्य शृणोति श्रान्तिकल्पं शृणोति (M. B. under I-4-29).

2 Thieme and *Pāṇini* (Indian Culture Vol. IV p. 399)

The words नान्दी, लिपि in III-2-21, शिल्पिनि in III-2-55, श्लोक in III-1-25 and III-2-23 and सूत्र in III-2-23 and IV-2-65 suggest that writing, architecture, the *sūtra* form of the composition and the designation of श्लोक to verses were known in his time. The word भाषायां in *sūtras* like VIII-2-98 and the word छन्दसि in *sūtras* like III-3-129 suggest that Sanskrit was a spoken language in his time and it began to differ from the Sanskrit used in the *Vēdas*. The *sūtras* उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः (II-1-55) उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे (II-1-56) कर्तरि उपमाने (III-2-79) show that the figure of speech उपमा was then known and the word उपमा was also used in the sense of equal as is inferred from the *sūtra* तुल्यार्थैरनुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयान्यतस्याम् (II-3-72). The *sūtra* दक्षिणापञ्चान्पुरसस्त्यक् (IV-2-98) tells us that the words दक्षिणात्यः, पाश्चात्यः and पौरस्त्यः were in use in his time. Originally they may have meant one belonging to the southern country, one belonging to the western and one belonging to the eastern. This may perhaps suggest that Pāṇini was in the *madhyadēśa* and referred to people south, west and east of it.¹

The *sūtra* यस्कादिभ्यो गोले (II-4-63) refers to Yāska. T. Goldstucker thinks that he is anterior to Pāṇini.² Since it is only a *taddhita* name, it is better to come to a definite conclusion on the point on the strength of another positive evidence.

¹ Under the *sūtra* पञ्च विप्रोपतिः दक्षिणस्त्योत्तरतः 1-3-2-1 of *Bṛhadhāyana*, the commentator writes दक्षिणेन नमवानुत्तरेण कन्यातीर्थम्, उत्तरस्तु दक्षिणेन हिमवतमुद्विन्वयसे. *Vāṛhahyana* uses the word दक्षिणापञ्चानाम् in *sūtras* II-4-10, II-6-40, II-7-23 etc. Hence the word दक्षिणात्यः may originally have meant man of the south and later on may have been restricted to mean the inhabitant of the Deccan. (Cf. Apte's Dictionary)

² Pāṇini - His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 171.

THE PLAN THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPOSITION ETC.
IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYI.

Faddegon in his studies on *Pāṇini's* grammar writes:—The first five chapters deal with the theory of the ultimate components of language or the analytical part of grammar, the sixth and the seventh chapters with the theory of word coalescence and vocalic sandhi in general and the eight with the theory of sentence—coalescence and of consonantal sandhi in general.¹

The main principles of *Pāṇini's* forms of literary composition are mnemotechnical economy, logical division and associative digression,² and the subsidiary forms of composition and arrangement are (1) *pūrvatrāsiddhatva*, (2) distinctive insertion like the definitions of *saṁhita* and *anāsāna* at the end of adhy. 1, pā. 4, (3) oratorical division like announcing in the last *sūtra* of a *pāda* and the subject of the following *pāda* or giving at the beginning of a *pāda* a few additions to the foregoing para and insertion by emergency. A fact of peculiar interest in *Pāṇini's* composition is the tendency towards dichotomy in the main divisions of his work.³ The indeclinables (*avyayas*) are enumerated by *Pāṇini* in I-1-37-41 and I-4-56-94, the former being based on etymology and the latter on function.⁴ The term *nipāta* is used in its *wide* significance to include all the indeclinables with a relational meaning (conjunctions, modal adverbs, close adverbs to finite verbs, prefixes to deverbative nouns and indeclinables, close adverbs which have developed into free adverbs, prepositions) and in a *narrow* significance to denote only conjunctions and modal adverbs. This distinction of a *wide* and *narrow* significance appears to be a kind of logical

¹ Studies on *Pāṇini's* Grammar by B. Faddegon pp. 51—53.

² *Ibid* p. 49.

³ *Ibid* pp. 50—51.

⁴ *Ibid* pp. 7—8.

artfulness chosen for the sake of brevity. The word क्रियायोगे is used in the sense 'in connection with the notion of an action either expressed or implied' from the use of *upasarga* in V-4-119, VI-2-177 and VI-3-97 and not in the sense 'in connection with a word expressing an action, either a finite verb or a diverbative.' The terms कर्मप्रवचनीयः and कर्मधारयः might have been due to the influence of the older schools since the word कर्म in both is not used in the same sense as that in कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म.¹

What strikes us then ... is the trustworthiness of Pāṇini, his power of observation, his love of language, his deep intellectual and emotional understanding.² The worth of Pāṇini's work for us is not in its linguistic information, however valuable many a detail may be, but in its fitness as a training for our understanding the Indian method of composition and specially as a scientific work it offers in this respect great advantages.³ The more one studies the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the more one realises the depth and correctness of the characterisation given by Speyer of this work that it is a well-planned and not only virtuosic but also ingenious text-book.⁴

"I adore Pāṇini because he reveals to us the spirit of India".⁵

HIS OTHER WORK.

Pāṇini is the author of *Pālālavijayam* or *Jāmbavativijayam* also.

1 *Ibid* pp. 15 and 16.

2 *Ibid* p. 17.

3 *Ibid* p. 47. 4 *Ibid* p. 48. 5 *Ibid* p. 36. 6 *Ibid* p. 4.

7 *Of*. New verse of Pāṇini by Kriaknadasa *Upādhyāya* (Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XIII.)

Kātyāyana - Vararuci was very prominent among a large number of seers *Bhāradvājīyas*,¹ *Sāyāṇas*,² *Ślokanvrttikakāra*,³ etc. who wrote *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini's grammar. *Kātyāyana*'s *Vārttikas* are generally prose, though some of them are verses,⁴ *Patañjali* mentions the names of other grammarians like *Vārṣayāni*,⁵ the propounder of the six *bhāṣanikāras*, *Vāḍava*⁶ and refers to others in expressions like *apara*, *aparā*, *anyā*, *ācāryas*, *kēcit* etc.

RELATIONSHIP OF VĀRTTIKAS TO PĀṆINI'S SŪTRAS.

Vārttika is defined thus by *Hemacandra*:—

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तार्थविन्ताकारि तु वार्तिकम्

This is translated by Prof. Goldstuecker as under:— "The characteristic feature of a *Vārttika* is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a *sūtra*".⁷ Prof. F. Keilhorn, on a close study of the first nine *āhnikas*

1 M. B. under *sūtras* दशम्यदाय (I-1-20), स्मार्तिवदोदयोऽनन्विधौ (II-1-56).

पुनः क्त्वा च (I-2-22), गेरणी ... (I-3-47) निश्चिदुन्म्यः कर्तारि चङ् (III-1-48)

न दुहस्नुनमो यन्विधौ (III-1-89), गोत्रावयवात् (IV-1-79), अस्तौ रात्रयोस्मन्नात्स्याम् (VI-4-47) etc.

2 M. B. under *sūtras* यववाप (IV-1-72) कर्तुमगम्यो ... (IV-1-87), ओमाशब्दे (VI-1-95), प्रहयवत्य ... (VI-3-43) etc.

3 *Bhojirharī's Pradīpaka* under अक्षरं नक्षरं विद्यात् etc. at the end of *Pratyāhārāhnika*. The *Vārttika*

स्मादिविधिः पुराणो नवाविशेषेण किं कृतं भवति ।

न स्मपुराणतन इति कृता कलायमेनेह II. under लट् स्मे & *Patañjali*'s statement किं वार्तिककारः प्रतिषेधेन करोति make us infer that this *Vārttika* may have been by *Ślokanvrttikakāra*

4 प्रत्याहारेऽनुबन्धानां कथमप्यहोपु न

आचारदप्रधानत्याहोपय वलवत्तः II. *Vārttika* under हयवरट्

5 आक्षतेऽस्ति विपरिणमते बद्धतेऽपक्षानते विनश्यति (M. B. under मृगयस्यो आतवः I-3-1)

6 योयस्मावतेऽस्मिन्निदिष्टो वाडवः प्रहोति (M. B. under प्रहयवत्य इदुतो VIII-2-106).

7 *Pāṇini - His place in Sanskrit Literature* p. 91.

of the *Mahābhāṣya* thinks that the *Vārtikas* consider whether anything has been omitted in the *sūtras* that should have been stated and whether there is in them anything that is superfluous, faulty or objectionable.¹ Prof. Goldstucker, consequently says that “*Kātyāyana* did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of *Pāṇini*, but to find fault with them” and that “*Kātyāyana* does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of *Pāṇini*, but that of an *antagonist*, often too, of an unfair *antagonist*.”² Prof. Keilhorn, on the other hand, tells us that “the object of the *Vārtikas* is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rules of *Pāṇini*’s grammar and on the one hand to justify *Pāṇini* by defending him against unfounded criticism and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to, the rules laid down by him, where defence and justification were considered impossible.”³ Prof. Keilhorn deserves our gratitude for having found out the real object of the *Vārtikas* and the attitude of *Kātyāyana* towards *Pāṇini*. From a study of all the 85 *āhuikas* of the *Mahābhāṣya* I see that, of about 1700 *sūtras* discussed there, about 450 have no *vārtikas*. Of the remaining 1250 *sūtras* more than 700 *sūtras* are beautifully explained by the *Vārtikakāra* without picking any hole in them. About ten *sūtras* are found by him to be not necessary. In the majority of the remaining 240 *sūtras* only additions and corrections or more correctly, changes in form and meaning are made. Since a long time should have elapsed between *Pāṇini*’s time and *Kātyāyana*’s time, it is just possible in the *spoken* language for words to have been changed both *morphologically* and

1. *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* by F. Keilhorn p. 48.

2. *Pāṇini: His place in Sanskrit Literature* p. 91.

3. *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* p. 48.

semantically and to have become obsolete.' Hence the expression *दुरुक्तचिन्तन* may be appropriate from the standpoint of a *descriptive* grammarian, but is unsound from the standpoint of a *historical* grammarian. *Kātyāyana* shows himself a *historical* grammarian in having noticed such changes.

KĀTYĀYANA WAS LATER THAN PĀNINI

The following *vārttikas* clearly show the great regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini* :—

- (1) आचार्योच्चारत्संज्ञासिद्धिः (*Vārttika* under वृद्धिरादैच I-1-3)
- (2) भूवादीनां वृकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते (*ibid* under भूवादयो घातवः I-3-1).
- (3) नित्ये च यः शाकलभाक्समासे ।
तदर्थमेतद्भगवांश्चकार ॥ (*ibid* under इको यणचि VI-1-77).
- (4) बहुव्रीहिस्वरं शक्ति समासान्तविधेः सुहृत् (*ibid* under बहुव्रीहौ ... VI-2-1).
- (5) प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under आयन् ... VII-1-2).
- (6) सिद्धं तु तद्वृणसंविज्ञानात्पाणिनेर्यथा लोके (*ibid* under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य VI-1-1).
- (7) एकरोषनिर्देशाद्वा स्वरभिन्नानां भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under अ अ VIII-4-68).

The word *सुहृत्* and *भगवान्* used to refer to *Pāṇini* speak volumes. *Kātyāyana* seems to admire the service rendered by *Pāṇini* and the great traits of his character.

1 Cf. *Pāṇini—His place in Sanskrit Literature* by T. Goldstucker pp. 95—98.

Form according to *Pāṇini* :

Form according to *Kātyāyana* :

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) एकराट् (अङ्तरादिभ्यः पञ्चम्यः VII-1-25); | एकतरम् (एकतरात् प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः) |
| (b) चिदाबस् चिन्मयम् (बरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिके वा VIII-4-45); | चिदायम् became obsolete (प्रत्यये माणायां निलम्). |
| (c) आश्चर्यमनिले (VI-1-147)
(not permanent, rare) | आश्चर्यमद्भुत इति वक्तव्यम्
(wonderful). |
| (d) भोज्यं भक्ष्ये (VII-3-89)
(applicable to the eating of solid alone). | भोज्यमभ्यवहार्यमिति वक्तव्यम्
(applicable to the eating of solid and liquid). |

When such is the case, it is not possible to think that they were contemporaries as is said in the *Kāthāsaritśāgara* and that *Kātyāyana* was an intelligent pupil and *Pāṇini* was an idiot under the *Ācārya Varṣa* and they respectively composed *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Vārttika* through *Śiva's* grace! *Rāmabhadra Dikṣita*, in his *Paṭanājalicūrīta* improves upon *Kāthāsaritśāgara* by omitting to say that *Pāṇini* was an idiot and perhaps to emphasise the necessity for *Śeṣa's* *avatāra* as *Paṭanājali* makes both *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* curse each other.

1. *Of* अथ कोऽन्य वर्षस्य शिष्यवर्गो मुह्यन्मृतः ।
 तत्रैकः पाणिनिर्नाम जह्युदितरोऽभवत् ॥ (4-20)
 तत्र तत्रेण तपसा तोषितादिन्दुशेखरात् ।
 सर्वविद्यामुखं तेन प्राप्तं व्याकरणं नवम् ॥ (4-23)
 ततश्चागत्य मामेव वादायाद्वसते स्म सः ।
 प्रवृत्ते वापयोर्वादि प्रवाताः सप्त वासराः ॥ (4-23)
 अष्टमैर्द्वौ नवा वास्मांश्चते तत्तत्तन्मन्तरम् ।
 नमःस्थेन मतापीरो बुद्धात्तत्तन्मुना कृतः ॥ (4-24)
 तेन प्रणष्टमैर्दं तदस्मद्व्याकरणं भुवि ।
 जिता पाणिनिना सर्वे नृणांभूता वयं पुनः ॥ (4-25)
 अथ राजाननिषेदः स्वधृतिस्थितौ धनम् ।
 हस्ते हिरण्यगुप्तस्य विद्याय वणिजो निवृत्तम् ॥ (4-26)
 जम्बा तच्चोपखेदात्तै रतवानस्मि शङ्करम् ।
 तयोभिरारम्भितुं निराहारे द्विमास्यम् ॥ (4-27)
 आरामधतो महादेवो ब्रह्मः प्रार्थितः ॥ (4-27)
 तदेव तेन शास्त्रं मे पाणिनेर्नाम प्रकाशितम् ।
 तच्छिष्यानुभवादेव मेवा पूर्णकृतं च तत् ॥ (4-28)

2. *Of* यस्मादावेकाहं मम प्रसार्यं वृषभवानुग्रहमाजनस्य ।
 दूत्रेणदुष्कोकदुर्दृक्चिन्तापूषीरमं वार्तिकमोतनिद्राः ॥ (1-67)
 तस्मात्सर्वदेव तनुस्तवेयम् इत्युदत्तं पाणिनिज्ञापनाभ्यम् ।
 जाकार्ष्ये त्वौ स विकृद्मन्युः काव्यायनेऽपि प्रति तं शशाप ॥ (1-68)
 सवानजातम् भगवत्प्रसादविवर्तभूतान्नापि वार्तिकानि ।
 माद्यं यतः शापमदा मदेन ततो विशर्षितं तवापि सुधा ॥ (1-69)

Since in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the stories are said to be narrated by *Kātyāyana* and since *Kātyāyana* was definitely known to have written *Vārttika* on *Pāṇini*'s work, the author may have thought it necessary that *Kātyāyana* should be shown as a precocious pupil, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, that he was able to write his work through *Śiva*'s grace and through *Śiva*'s intervention and grace *Kātyāyana* wrote the *Vārttika* on his work.

But at the same time we read the following statement regarding *Pāṇini* in pages 221 and 222 of the first volume of the book, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* by Thomas Watters:—

“Five hundred years after Buddha's decease, a great Arhat from Kashmir in his travels as an apostle arrived at this place (a tope in Po-lo-tu-lo). Here he saw a brahmin teacher chastising a young pupil: in reply to the Arhat's question, the teacher said he beat the boy for not making progress in Etymology. . . The Arhat answered, “This boy of yours is that rishi (*Pāṇini*).”

Since this story should have been current long before *Kathāsaritsāgara* was written, it may have been made use of, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, though, according to it, he was so in his next birth.

We may positively state that *Kātyāyana* lived long after *Pāṇini* from the following point:— There is a *vārttika* *द्रव्याभिधानं व्याडिः* (under I-2-64); *Paṭaṅjali* states *शौभना खलु दाशायणेन सङ्ग्रहस्य कृतिः* (under II-3-66), *सङ्ग्रह एतद्व्याधान्येन परीक्षितम्* (*Paspaka*) and *आपिशङ्कपाणिनीयव्याडीयगीतमीयाः* (under VI-2-36); and *Kathāsaritsāgara* says,

अध्यापयितुमस्मांश्च प्रवृत्तोभूदसौ ततः ।

सङ्कल्लुप्तं मया तत्र द्विः श्रुतं व्यादिना तथा ॥ (II-79)

Since *Tyāgī* is *Dākṣāyaṇa* and he was a contemporary of *Kāṭyāyana*, *Kāṭyāyana* could not have been *Pāṇini*'s contemporary, but should have lived at least 200 years later than he.¹

- KĀTĪYĀYANA'S BIRTHPLACE ETC.

Kāṭyāyana is said to have been born at *Kāuśāmbī*, to *Sāmadatta* and *Vasudattā* and educated under *Varṣa* at *Pāṭali-putra* and to have narrated the stories found in the *Kuṭhā-saṁśodhane* in the forests of the *Vindhya*s. He is also said to have been the minister of *Tōgānanda*.² Perhaps the *Vārttika* महादेवो ग्रन्थिर्मध्यम्य मध्यमभावः under IV-2-138 suggests that he is a *Madhyamāśīya*. From *Putāñjali*'s statement विद्यतदिता दक्षिणत्या under वया लौकिकवैदिकेषु in *Paśpaśāhika*, it is generally said that *Kāṭyāyana* was a Southerner and he was sneered at by *Putāñjali*. R. G. Bhandarkar takes him to be a Southerner³ and Prof. Goldstucker says that he is one of the Eastern school.⁴ The reason therefor is that *Kāṭyāyana*

1 Cf. अल्लयनपाणिनोः शब्दशास्त्रपाठेन पाणिनिः कल्यायनात् पूर्वतनः इत्यन्यासेनैव विज्ञायते, ततः कल्यायने एव पाणिनिर्लुप्तत्वाच्चाक्षरास्य वर्तितस्वरः स स्वप्ने विदुषां वरं पाणिनिम् आचार्यत्वेन स्वीकृतवान्. (*Sahadakaṭyāyana*)

2 कौशाम्बी सोमदत्ताभ्यां ज्ञानप्रतिषेध इत्यपि ।
त्रिवेदीभूतस्य भार्या न वन्दताभिवाभेवत् ॥
तस्यान्तस्माद्विद्वत्तदेष वन्दोऽस्मि शपतः । (II-30-31)
... वस्ति पाटलिपुत्रं नाम पुरं नन्दस्य भूपतेः
तत्रास्ति वैष्णो वषाण्यो विप्रस्तस्मादवाम्भयः ॥ (II-45-46)
कृत्वास्मान्प्रतान्नेषु कृपविष्टः शुचौ भुवि ।
वर्षोपायात् ओङ्कारमकरोद्विषया गिर ॥
नदनन्तरमेवाम्य त्रैवः पञ्चा उपस्थिताः ॥ (II-75-79)
इत्यात्म्याय कथां मयीं विनयान्तः कथयन्तुते ।
पुनर्वारं चरन्तस्मै प्रकृतार्थमवर्णयत ॥ (IV-1)

3 Cf. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. II p. 240

4 *Pāṇini—His place in Sanskrit Literature* p. 182.

is called आचार्य and *Patanjali*, आचार्यदेशीय by *Kātyāyana* in his *Pratīpa* under वृत्तदेशेभ्यः परिमाणे वृत्तम् (V-2-39) and *Patanjali* is taken by him to be identical with *Gōṇarḍhya* in his *Pratīpa* under the *sūtra* आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् (I-1-21) and *Gōṇarḍha* is in the eastern country and the *Kāśikā* gives under एह् प्राचा देशे (I-1-75) the example गोनर्दीय. But it will be dealt with later on that it is not easy to decide that गोनर्दीय refers only to *Patanjali*. If so, the theory that *Kātyāyana* belonged to eastern school may not stand. If it is stated that, because he is said in *Kathāsaritsāgara* to have studied under *Varya* at *Pāṇaliputra*, he may be taken to belong to the Eastern school, it is also stated there that he forgot the whole of *Āindra Vyākaraṇa* which he studied under him. From the way in which *Kātyāyana* explains many *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as if each is an *adhyakaraṇa* and the regard he has for *Pāṇini*, it is certain that he should have been an adherent of the *Pāṇinīyan* school and studied in the *madhyadēśa* near his birth-place *Kāuśāmbī*. Why he was stated to be a *Dākṣiṇātya* by *Patanjali* has to be explained. From the way in which he refers to *Kātyāyana* in many places of the *Mahābhāṣya*, it is clear that he holds him as a great seer who well supplemented *Pāṇini's* *sūtras*. This is a clear proof that *Patanjali* cannot be taken to have sneered at him. In that case we have to take it that he calls him a *Dākṣiṇātya* following some of the northern grammarians who

1 तदाचार्यः संहृष्टत्वा जन्मानन्ते (M. B. under अल्लविभयि ... III-3-137 वेलायाः III-3-141 अर्द्धाद्यत IV-3-4 and विस्वाच V-1-31)

(a) आचार्येण प्रयोगनानि पठितानि (M. B. under अष्टः ... VI-1-13)

(b) सुष्ठुच्यते अलोन्त्यस्य स्थाने विशालस्यानुसंहार इतरथा व्यतिष्ठप्रसङ्गः (M. B. under अलोन्त्यस्य I-1-52)

(c) पठितव्यं आचार्यैः (M. B. under जनसमखनां सञ्चालोः VI-4-44)

(d) मातृलिक आचार्यः महतः शास्त्रौपस्य मज्जल्यै सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते ... पवति आचार्यो मज्जल्यैवैव सिद्धशब्द आदितः प्रयुक्तो भविष्यति (M. B. under the *vārttika* in *Paspāsa*)

might have described him in that way. Under the *sūtra* पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिः दक्षिणतः I-1-2-1, of the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*, the commentator says दक्षिणेन नमोदामुत्तरेण कन्यातीर्थम् and *Vātsyāyana*, in his *Kāmasūtra* makes mention of दक्षिणात्यनाम in II-6-46 and II-7-23 and *Bhartrhari* mentions दक्षिणात्येषु in his *Vākya-padīpi* and दक्षिणात्य is generally taken by modern scholars to refer to the resident of दक्षिणापथ or Deccan. *Pāṇini* gives the derivation of दक्षिणात्य in IV-2-98 to denote only a Southerner. Therefore it is a matter for further consideration whether *Kātyāyana* is taken as a Southerner because he was so called by the residents of countries north of his place or on account of his having resided long in the forests of the *Vindhya*s.

METHODS OF KĀTYĀYANA

In explaining *sūtras*, he adopts the method which is generally used in dealing with an *adhikarana* by giving the *pūrvanipikṣa*, answering the points raised and finally giving *siddhānta*. He also explains grammatical points on the analogy of incidents found in the world and mentioned in the *Vēdas*,¹ from the experience of the world,² from nature, from *nyāyas* or maxims like.

एकदेशविकृतस्थानन्यत्वम् (under I-5-56 and VII-3-85)

व्यपदेशिवद्बचनम् (under VI-1-1)

अपवादव्यायः (under I-3-9)

1. यथा लौकिकसंदिग्धं (*Paspaśa*, under इदिरादैश्च I-1-1 स्थानिवदादेशोऽनात्मनो I-1-56, and एकः पूर्वपरयोः VI-1-84).

2. यथा लोके (under एकाचो द्वे प्रत्यस्य, VI-1-1 एकः पूर्वपरयोः VI-1-84 etc).

लोकविक्षान्तानिदम् (under अलोन्त्याद्युर्व उपजा I-1-66, आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासी VI-2-36 etc.)

लोकविक्षान्तानिदम् (under समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले III-4-21 लोकवत् (under अजादेर्दिलोपस्य VI-1-2).

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यम् (under I-1-71)

and from *nyāyas* based on *Dharmaśāstra* like

गुरुवद्वरुषे¹ (under स्यान्निवदादेशोऽनन्विद्यौ I-1-56)

धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा (under सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ I-2-84)

etc.

He is the author of the following *paribhāṣās* :—

(1) उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी (under II-3-19)

(Case-relation of a noun to the verb is stronger than that to another word in the sentence).

(2) प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (under IV-1-1)

(Mention of a stem includes the stem formed by adding the gender-affix to it).

(3) अनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणम् (under IV-1-15)

(Mention of one without इत् does not include the same with इत्).

(4) संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य (under I-1-39)

(Rule bringing out the combination of two things never destroys it.)

(5) यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहणे (under I-1-72)

(If a letter in the locative case qualifies another word in the locative, the former should be taken as the initial letter or the latter).

He exclaims the authority of grammar that it enjoins the correct usage of words through such expressions as

साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् (under I-1-44)

सदन्वाख्यानान्छास्त्रस्य (under I-1-62)

¹ Cf. *Gāṭamadharmasūtra* I-2-37-8.

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (under VIII-2-1)

This clearly shows the high regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini*.

He tells us that *Pāṇini* makes use of the *saṃjñā* from the previous grammar *Āpiśalom*¹ and mentions वाजप्यायन, व्याडि² and पौष्करसादि³ who are not mentioned by *Pāṇini*.

He shows that, in certain cases, the *sūtras* may be split in a different way. From this he clearly informs us that they were studied in *Saṃhitā* form and they were taught how to split it into different *sūtras* by the teachers. Since *Kātyāyana* suggests *yōgavibhāga* in many places, it is quite possible that he should have lived long after the time of *Pāṇini*. His knowledge of Southern India made him modify *Kambōjālluk* (IV-1-175) into *Kambōjādibhyō luk* to include the Chola country.

He gives us room to infer from his statement सर्वस्य वा चेतनावत्त्वात् under the *sūtra* घातोः कर्मणः . . . (III-1-7) and *Kātyāyana's* commentary आत्म्याद्वैतदर्शनेन and *Nāgējibhaṭṭa's* gloss सर्वत्र परिणामदर्शनेन चेतनाधिष्ठानं विना न च तदसम्भवात्सर्वस्य तदधिष्ठितत्वं ज्ञायते on the same that he was an *advaitin* and his expression वचनप्रामाण्यात् under II-1-1 shows that he considered the शब्दप्रमाण to be most powerful.

In the discussion on समर्थः पदविधिः (II-1-1) there is a sentence वार्त्तिककारवचनप्रामाण्यात्. Its other reading is वार्त्तिकवचनप्रामाण्यात्.⁴ *Eddyōlakāra* having taken the former reading says thus:—

न च वचनेत्यस्यापि वार्त्तिकत्वात् वार्त्तिककृता स्वीयवचसः कथं प्रमाणत्वेनाश्रयणमिति भाष्ये वार्त्तिकेत्याद्यनुपपन्नमिति वाच्यम् । अन्योऽयं वार्त्तिककारो वार्त्तिककारान्तरैर्यित्तवचनं प्रमाणान्तरत्वेनाश्रयतीत्यदोषात्.

1 पूर्वसंज्ञानर्देशो वापिशलमघोत इति (under IV-1-14).

2 व्याभिधानं व्याडिः (under I-2-04).

3 नवो हितोपाः वारि पौष्करसादेः (under VIII-4-48).

4 Keilborn's edition.

But since सिद्धं तु काश्चित्तिदुर्गतिवचनादयः कार्यः is found as a *vārttika* under the *sūtra* कुगतिप्रादयः (II-2-18), the statement of *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* needs revision and it is better to take the second reading and to interpret that one *vārttika* mentioned elsewhere is stated in support of another *vārttika*. Hence it is not safe to infer that *Kātyāyana* referred to another *Vārttikakāra*.

Paṇṇali's statements वार्तिकसूत्रिकः साङ्ग्रहसूत्रिकः and सवार्तिकः ससङ्ग्रहः under कतूक्यादिस्वान्तादृक् IV-2-60 suggest that *Kātyāyana* and *Vyādi* were contemporaries, that they respectively wrote *Vārttika* and *Saṅgraha*, that *Pāṇini's* *sūtras* were studied along with *vārttikas* and *Saṅgraha* and that *Paṇṇali* made use of both in his *Mukābhāṣya*.¹

The *vārttika* :

नाम च घातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च लोकम्

under उणादयो बहुलम् (III-3-1) shows that the *Vārttikakāra* wrote his *vārttika* after *Yāska* wrote his *Nirukta*.

The *vārttika* :

भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते

shows that the practice of doing मङ्गल to see that one's work is completed without impediment was prevalent before *Vārttikakāra's* time.

The *sūtra* एच इग्रस्वादेशे (I-1-48) is found stated to be unnecessary by the *Vārttikakāra* on the strength of the point एङः सस्यानन्वात् and ऐवोच्चेत्तरभूयस्वात्. Under the *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (VIII-2-106) he gives the *vārttika* सिद्धं तु इदुतोर्दीर्घवचनात्. Since this is possible in the opinion of *Paṇṇali* only when मात्राऽवर्णस्य

1 मङ्गले एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं निरुक्ते वा स्वात् कार्यं केति । तत्रोक्तं शेषाः प्रवेष्टनान्व-
युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेय निर्णयो 'यदेव मिलो अथापि कार्यं उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्तयमिति
and मङ्गले तावत्कार्यप्रातिपद्विभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो मङ्गलमिति (*Paspas-
āhnika*).

मात्रेवर्णवर्णयोः, *Nāgajñāṇa* says that *Kātyāyana* is inconsistent.¹ It may be noted that it is the *Taittīyaprātiśākhya* that says

अकारार्धमैकारौकारयोरादिः (I-26)

इकारोऽर्धः पूर्वस्य शेषः, उकारस्तृत्तरस्य (I-28)

while *Śuklayajurvedaprātiśākhya* says

ऐकारौकारयोः कण्ठ्या पूर्वा मात्रा ताल्वोष्ठयोरुत्तरा I-73.

The *vārttikas* सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे and आदित्यवत्स्युः found in *Pāṣpāśāhnikā* and *Pratyāhārāhnikā* have parallels in the *Jāimīniya sūtras* औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः (I-1-5) and आदित्यवद् योगपद्यम् (I-1-15). These along with the *vārttika* आस्त्रायशब्दानामान्यभाष्यं स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीदेशकालनियतत्वात् under V-2-59 suggest that it is possible that *Kātyāyana* lived after *Jāimīni*. About 8 *sūtras* like न धातुलोप आर्यधातुके, दीर्घविवीटाम्, नाज्झलौ, एच इग्नस्वादेशे are found unnecessary by *Kātyāyana*. It has already been stated that *Kātyāyana* made his contribution to the *Gaṇapāṭha*. He was, perhaps, aware of the science of medicine since he says

तस्य निमित्तप्रकरणे वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शमनकोपनयोरुपसङ्ग्यानम् under V-1-38.

PATANJALI.

HIS LIFE

Bhartrhari, in his *Vākyapadiya*, says that it is through grammar one learns the correct words, that the knowledge of grammar leads one to *Mokṣa*, that grammarians became so lazy as to need short-cuts in grammar and that, consequently, the *saṅgraha* was not studied, that *Patañjali*, the great, composed the *Mahābhāṣya* bristling with the worldly maxims, that its study became limited to a narrow circle, that it existed in a book-form among *Dākṣiṇātyas*, that the

1 एवञ्च कर्त्तिकारस्य पूर्वपरविरोधः (*Uddyōta* under VIII-2-106).

Ācārya Candra, at the request of *Abhimanyu*, the king of *Kashmir*, learnt it under *Parvata*, and popularised its study in *Kashmir*.¹ He suggests that *Patanjali* was the author of treatises on *Yōga* and medicine² and others express it plainly.³

1 तत्त्वबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादित्ते । (*Vākyapadīya* I-13.)

तद्वारमपवर्गस्य वाक्यानां चिकित्सितम् । *ibid* I-14.

प्रत्येकं सङ्क्षेपवर्णनस्य विद्यापरिग्रहम् ।

सम्भाष्य वैयाकरणान् सङ्गृहेऽस्तमुपागते ॥ *ibid* II-481.

इतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।

सर्वेषां न्यायार्थानां महाभाष्ये निवर्धने ॥ *ibid* II-485.

यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो ब्रूषो व्याकरणागमः ।

काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥ *ibid* II-488.

पर्यादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबोजानुमारिभिः ।

न नीतो बहुशास्त्रत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥ *ibid* II-489.

धर्मोर्वैभूतामिमन्तुः शतमन्युस्त्रिचारः । (*Rājataranigīṇī* I-174.)

चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादेवं तस्मात्तदागमम् ।

श्रवणैर्तं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥ *ibid* I-176.

Abhimanyu lived about 100 B. C. (Dr. Otto Boethlingk); he lived between 40 and 85 A. D. (Professor Lassen.)

2 जागवार्बुदविषया ये मलास्मबन्धिनाः ।

चिकित्सालक्षणाभ्यात्मणास्तेषां विमुदयः ॥ (*Vākyapadīya* I-148).

3 पातञ्जलमहाभाष्यचरकप्रतिसंस्कृतैः ।

मनोवाक्यादयोषाणां हर्षेऽहिपतये नमः ॥ (*Carakasasāhītā—cakradattavyākhyā* I-4.)

अजन्ताश्चिन्तयागाम रोगोपशमकरणम् ।

सबिन्ध्य स त्वयं तत्र मुनेः पुत्रो बभूव ह ॥

यतश्चर उवाचातो न ज्ञातः केनचिद्यतः ।

तस्माच्चरकनात्रासीं ग्यातश्च क्षितिमण्डले ॥

आत्रेयस्य मुनेः शिष्या अग्निवेशादयोऽभवन् ।

मुनयो बहवस्तैश्च कृतं तन्त्रं त्वकं त्वकम् ॥

तेषां तन्त्राणि संस्कृत्य समाहृत्य विपश्चिता ।

चरकेनात्मनो नात्रा ग्रन्थोऽयं चरकः कृतः ॥ (*Bhāvaprakāśa* in the introduction to *Himavajra's Kāyaprasaṃhītā*).

आप्तो नाम अनुमतेन वस्तुतत्त्वस्य कात्स्न्येन निश्चयवान् ।

रगादिवशादपि नान्यथावादी यः स इति चरके पतञ्जलिः (*Nāgajībhūṭa* in *Vāyā-karaprasiddhāntamahājāsū* p. 12.)

योगसूत्रे पतञ्जल्युक्तेः (*Nāgajībhūṭa* in the last *adhikaraṇa* of *Paspala* in *Mahābhāṣya*).

But there are also others who think that *Patañjali*, the author of the *Yogasūtra* is different from *Patañjali*, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*.¹

I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, writes "There is a commentary on the *ṛtī-sūtra* entitled *cārṇī* containing 24,000 slokas. It is a work of the learned *Patañjali*. This again cites the former sūtras (*Panini*) explaining the obscure points and analysing the principles contained in it and it illustrates the later commentary (*ṛtī*) clearing up many difficulties. Advanced scholars learn it in three years."²

Rāmabhadra Dikṣita, in his *Patañjalīcarita* says thus:—
Gōṇikā, the daughter of a *muni* gave *arghya* to Sun-god praying for a son. *Śēṣa*, the lord of serpents, fell in her hand in the form of a sage. He then prayed to *Śiva* at Chidambaram to enable him to write a *bhāṣya* on the *vārtikas* of *Kātyāyana*. He granted it; thousands of pupils went to him to learn his *bhāṣya*. He agreed to teach them on condition that he would hang a curtain between him and them and they should never meddle with it. So did the instruction go for some time. Once wondering at the way he answered their questions, they threw aside the curtain. He cursed them at once. One of them was then absent. Though he was cursed for having gone away in the middle without performing *uttaraśānti*, he, after his repeated request, was informed that he would be freed from the effect of the curse after teaching

1 अयं च योगशास्त्रकारश्चात् मित्र इति सरलायामस्यमिस्तमर्शितम् ।

अन्योरेभेद इति पाञ्चाल्यवैवाकरणाः (*Pāncaspatya*)

केवाचिन्मते योगसूत्रकारकृतज्ञेर्मिष्यकृत् पतञ्जलिर्भिन्न एव ।

अन्योरेभेदता तु निर्दिशन्ति पाञ्चाल्याः (*Sabhalakalpadrūpa*)-

सुवाणि योगशास्त्रे वैयंकशास्त्रे च वार्तिकानि ततः

कृत्वा पतञ्जलिमुनिः प्रकारशामास जगदिदं ज्ञातुम् (*Patañjalīcarita* by *Rāmabhadra Dikṣita* V-25).

2 Cf. A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing and translated by J. Takakusu p. 178. Prof. Max-Müller points out that *Patañjali* is called *cārṇikī* or *cārṇikāra* by *Bhartrihari*.

Mahābhāṣya to him who would answer correctly that the past passive participle of पठ् is पठ. Candragupta who came from Ujjayinī gave him the answer and he was taught the work. His son by a śūdra wife was Bhartrhari. He wrote *Vākyapadīya*, *Bhāṣikāvyā* and the *śālukas* of *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra* and *vāirāgya*.¹ *Kāyāṭa* takes the epithet गोनदीय to refer to *Paṭanjali*² and *Nāgējibhaṭṭa* mentions that गोपिकापुत्र was taken to refer to *Paṭanjali*.³ The word गोनदीय, *Haridīkṣita* says in *Bṛhacchabdārtna*, refers to *Vārttikakāra*. It

1 तत्र कापि दृष्टे मुनिवत्या गोपिकेति गुणसिन्धुरेण । (*Paṭanjali carita* II-7).

सम्प्रतार्थवत्कर्मजलिमुचैः सारककियं प्रति वेवम् ।

आवदुरिक्षवति तावदमुष्मात्तापसाञ्जितरहिः स पपात ॥ (II-11.)

ववसि स्तुतिभिश्च सङ्गतं परितुष्यन्प्रभुरज्ज्वलदिदम् ।

तपसा तत्र शेष तोषितो वितरिष्यन्वरमागतेऽस्मि ते ॥ (III-24-25).

पदवार्तिकमाष्यनिर्मितौ प्रथमं पाठ्यमम्बवावत ॥ (III-26).

जगदुपकृतये जघार भाष्यं मरुदचिरेण पतञ्जलिर्महात्मा ॥ (V-3).

तद्युष्मिन्नुद्युस्तदीयभाष्यं पिपठिष्वः किल पण्डिताः सहस्रम् । (V-4)

तदनु यवतिकां वितलां गृहं वपुरमात्रं च पतञ्जलविधाय ।

उपविशत बहिरिन्तरस्करिष्याः पठत ह्यति न ममेति तावदात्त ॥ (V-5).

मम वा तु न भवेन्नानः प्रिये मां स त्वं तिरस्करिणीमुदस्य पश्येत् ।

इति पुनरभिधाय पाठनार्थं फणिपतिरुपधाषिः समाललम्बे ॥ (V-6).

अथ फणिपतिरन्त्यावदेव पेटुः विलसति यावति तामकापञ्चम् । (V-14).

प्रतिपुरुषमिहान्तैः . . . वदतीति विस्मयेत् ।

अपहृतमेनसोऽथ तेऽपानिन्नुः सपदि तिरस्कर्णो तदीक्षणाव ॥ (V-15).

फणिपतिरभिधीयत तादृशांस्तान् कर्णमदमित्युचिन्त्य तावदास्त ।

प्रतिस्वरुपमुच्यते तादृकैः प्रणतमौत्सरिदं भवादपादौत ॥ (V-18).

फणिपार तावत्प्रसोद मणं बहिरगमे जलमोचताव यावत् ।

विधुत्तयवनिष्ठाः क्लृप्तापरावा बत मम तावदति स्थिताः सतांध्युः ॥ (V-19).

इति यदितांगरे शपाप कोपात् तद्विहितोत्तरशान्तिमन्त्रपाठः ।

बहिरसि गतवान् पठन्मदत्या जतिमपि तद्वच राक्षसोऽज्जमेति ॥ (V-20).

निष्ठायो किं रूपं पचेरितं त्वं वृषान् पुच्छ ।

पक्रमिति यदाते यस्तं मम जतिमन्त्राय मुच्यसे शोपात् ॥

इति कथयति रक्षसि बहुमान इदमपादसि चन्द्रमुतः ।

उपगम इह मे यमुच्यमिष्याः पठितुमर्थास्वरभाष्यमन्तिके ते ॥ (V-31) etc.

2 गोनदीयस्त्वाह — भाष्यकारस्त्वाह (M. B. under आश्वत्थवेकस्मिन् I-1-20).

3 गोपिकापुत्रः — भाष्यकार इत्याहुः (M. B. under अकथितं च I-4-52).

occurs four times in the *Mahābhāṣya* :— under the *sūtras* आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् (I-1-21), न बहुव्रीहौ (I-1-29), तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् (III-1-92) and जराया जस्तन्यतरस्याम् (VII-2-101).

In the first case when it is said that आद्यन्तवद्भाव need not be mentioned in the *vārttika* अपूर्वानुत्तरलक्षणत्वाद्यन्तयोः सिद्धमेकस्मिन्, the expression गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह 'सत्यमेतत्सति त्वन्यस्मिन्निति', 'सति त्वन्यस्मिन् ...' is the first *vārttika* under the *sūtra*. Hence the *vārttika* 'अपूर्व ...' should be taken to belong to one who is other than the author of the *vārttika* 'सति तु'. If the first *vārttika* belongs to *Kātyāyana*, गोनर्दीय should refer to him alone. If the *vārttika* 'अपूर्व ...' is taken to belong to him, गोनर्दीय should refer to another *Vārttikakāra*. A doubt may arise whether *Paṭanjali* quotes any *vārttika* belonging to any *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* at the commencement of the discussion on any *sūtra*. The *vārttika*

आदिविधिः पुरान्ते यद्यविशेषेण किं कृतं भवति ।

न सपुत्राद्यतन इति ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह ॥ under the *sūtra* छद स्मे seems to belong to the *Ślōkavārttikakāra* since mention is made here of *Kātyāyana*. In any case it seems that it cannot refer to *Bhāṣyakāra*. In the second case when it is said that, on the authority of the *sūtra* न बहुव्रीहौ, only the forms त्वत्कपितृकः and मत्कपितृकः can be taken to be correct, we find गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह "अकच्छ्वरी तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं मुक्तसञ्चयौ." Here too it is better to take गोनर्दीय to refer to *Kātyāyana* or another *Vārttikakāra*. It deserves to be noted that the author of the *Kāśikā* has not mentioned the forms त्वत्कपितृकः and मत्कपितृकः and consequently has not recognised the statement अकच्छ्वरी तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं मुक्तसञ्चयौ, which gives room to infer that गोनर्दीय here may refer to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana*.

In the third case when it is said that there will be no authority sanctioning the correctness of the word काशकटीकारम्

in the sentence इच्छाम्यहं काशकटीकारम् we find इष्टमेवैनदोनदीयस्य. Here too there is no harm if गोनदीय is taken to refer to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* and not to *Bhāṣyakāra*.

In the fourth case when it is said that the forms अतिजरम् and अतिजरैः have no authority sanctioning their correctness, it is said गोनदीय आह 'इष्टमेवैनत् संगृहीतं भवति'. Here too the same thing may hold good as in the third case.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems to me that गोनदीय refers to a *Vārttikakāra* of the Eastern school.

There is another argument also which may lend support to this. *Vātsyāyana*, in his *Kāmasūtra* quotes गोनदीय on five occasions and गौणिकापुत्र on eight occasions. On one such occasion while dealing with the number of *nāyikās* he says

अन्यकारणवशात् परपरिगृहीतापि पाक्षिकी चतुर्थीति गौणिकापुत्रः
I-5-5.

उक्तान्तबालभावाकुल्युवतिरूपचाराव्यवत्वात् अष्टमीति गोनदीयः
I-5-25.

When the number of *nāyikās* according to *Gōṇikāputra* is four and that, according to *Gōṇardīya*, it is eight, it is not possible for both to be one and the same person. It then follows that both the epithets cannot refer to one person, *Paṭaṅjali*. Besides it is not generally known that *Paṭaṅjali* wrote any treatise on *Kāmaśāstra*. It is safer therefore to conclude that both *Gōṇikāputra* and *Gōṇardīya* do not refer to him.

If it is decided that *Gōṇardīya* does not refer to *Paṭaṅjali*, the statement that he is an Eastern grammarian¹ cannot stand, as also the statement that *Kātyāyana* also belonged to the Eastern country. *Parbhatacandra Cakravarti's*

1 Cf. *Pāṇini* — His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 181.

opinion that he is a Southerner¹ needs revision. There are strong reasons to believe that *Patañjali* should have studied under the pupil-descendants of *Kātyāyana*.

It has already been stated that many *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* are discussed by *Kātyāyana* in the form of *ndhikaraṇas*. To decide which of the *vārtikas* are *pūrvapakṣīya* and which of them are *siddhāntīya* is not very easy. It can be easily done if it was handed down from teacher to pupil. In many places *Kātyāyana* states यथा लौकिकवैदिकेभ्यः, यथा लोके, लोकवत्, लोकविज्ञातात्सिद्धम्, स्वभावसिद्धत्वात्, धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा etc. Unless it was handed down from teacher to pupil, the applications of the above statements can hardly be easily known. A cursory study of *Mahābhāṣya* would convince any one that *Patañjali* should have studied under *Kātyāyana*'s disciples or their disciples.

His range of personal knowledge of geography of India extends to Kashmir on the north,² *Pāṭaliputra* in the east³ and Ujjain on the south.⁴ He mentions that *Śivapura* is a village in the northern country,⁵ that *Kāstīra*, *Dāsarūpya*, *Śakala*, *Sāusika*, *Pātālaprastha*, *Nāndipura*, and *Kāṅkkaṭivaha* are villages in *Vāhika*;⁶ *Sāṅkāśya* which he mentions there is

1 Cf. The Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. II p. 268.

2 कश्मीरतः गच्छन्नाह, तत्र नक्तुं गम्यामः । अभिजानामि देवदत्त, स्वमीयनगच्छाम, तत्र सक्तुं शक्याम (M. B. under विभाषा साक्षाच्छे III-2-114).

3 कश्चित् पाटलिपुत्रं विगमिषुर्वज्रवर्गत्वाऽऽह इदमत्र गतामिति (M. B. under निष्ठा III-2-102).

कश्चित् पाटलिपुत्रं विगमामाह जोड्यमन्ता गन्तव्यं आपाटलिपुत्रादेतस्मिन् रूपे भविष्यति (M. B. under III-3-133) etc.

पाटलिपुत्रम् व्याख्यातं सुकोरतेति . . . पाटलिपुत्रं नाऽस्मा अत्रयवश आगते ईदृशा अस्य प्राकार इत्या अस्य प्रासादा इति (M. B. under IV-3-66).

अपाटलिपुत्रं बली देवः (M. B. under II-4-83.)

अनुशीर्णं पाटलिपुत्रम् (M. B. under II-1-16.)

पाटलिपुत्रादागच्छामि (M. B. under II-3-28.)

4 उज्जयिन्याः प्रसिद्धो माहिष्मत्स्यं सुखोद्गमनं संभावयते (M. B. under हेतुमति च III-1-26)

5 M. B. under अन्वशास्त्रम् (IV-2-104.)

45 miles north-west of कान्यकुब्ज. Kāmpilya also is a place near to it. He states that the distance from Gavīdhumān to Śāṅkāśya is four yōjanas;¹ Gavīdhumān is modern Kundarkot. Śaurya and Jāmbava are two cities and Kēlavatī and Sālākīnī are two villages mentioned under the sūtra विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽ-
ग्रामाः II-4-7. Srugha² also is a village. Mathurā,³ Sāketa,⁴ Kāṇyakubja,⁵ Hastināpura,⁶ Vārāṇasī⁷ are the cities which are mentioned by him. Most of them are in Madhyadeśa. The word निष्कौशाम्बिः⁸ is used more than once; Kāuśāmbī is an old village on the left bank of the Jumna about 30 miles to the west of the Allahabad.⁹ The two villages Kēlavatī and Sālākīnī are perhaps near Kāuśāmbī. The rivers that he mentions are the Ganges, the Jumna, the Sōn and the Rāhasyā. The word काञ्चीपुरम् is used under the sūtra अव्यवस्थम्; it means the resident of Kāñcīpura. If this refers to the present city under that name in the Madras Presidency, it seems that it is the only city in Dekhan that is mentioned by him. The provinces that he refers to are Gāndhāra,¹⁰ Kāśmīra,¹¹

1 M. B. under अथादानीं पञ्चमी (II-3-28.)

2 अयं पन्थाः छुग्रामुपतिष्ठते (M. B. under उपान्मन्त्रकरणे I-3-25.)

3 M. B. under the sūtras ऋद्धक, मातुटादिभ्योऽग्निरिति (I-2-1) etc.

4 अयं पन्थाः साकेतमुपतिष्ठते (ibid.)

5 कान्यकुब्जी (M. B. under गौत्रावस्थात् IV-1-79.)

6 अनुगात्रं हास्तिनपुरम् (M. B. under यस्य चाग्रामः II-1-16.)

7 अनुगात्रं वाराणसी (ibid.)

8 निष्कान्तः कौशाम्ब्याः निष्कौशाम्बिः under sūtras कुर्वातिप्रादयः (II-2-18).
आफजारादेका संज्ञा (I-4-1) etc.

9 Geographical Dictionary by Dey.

10 गान्धारी (M. B. under IV-1-14).

11 कश्मीरराजः (M. B. under IV-1-1).

Pañcavada,¹ *Avanti*,² *Kuntī*,³ *Kurū*,⁴ *Madra*,⁵ *Pāncāla*,⁶ *Vidāha*,⁷ *Kāśapa*,⁸ *Kāśī*,⁹ *Vidarbha*,¹⁰ *Anga*,¹¹ *Vaṅga*,¹² *Trigarta*,¹³ *Sarāstra*, *Kāmbōja*,¹⁴ and *Kēraḷa*,¹⁵

Patañjali tells us that brahman women studied the grammars of *Āpiśala* and *Kāśakṛtsna*¹⁶ and a cave was called *Kizkindhā*.¹⁷

Patañjali's knowledge of medicine is seen from the following:—

(1) दधिप्रपुसं प्रत्यक्षो ज्वरः नङ्गलोदकं पादरोगः आयुर्वेदं धृतम् (M. B. under I-1-58 and VI-1-32).

(2) मूत्राय कल्पते यवान्; उच्चाराय कल्पते यवाचम् (M. B. under II-3-13).

(3) अतीसारो व्याधिः (M. B. under III-3-17).

His knowledge of architecture is seen from the following:

(1) कृतदमश्चुश्च पुनः स्मथ्रूणि कारयति (M. B. under VI-1-127).

1 पञ्चाली नैमीका समाहारः पञ्चनदं (*ibid* under IV-1-88).

पर्यः पञ्चदे देशे बहुधानप्रधान्वले ।

वधर वागं सर्वस्य जनस्य मुनिसत्तम ॥ (*Viṣṇupurāṇa* V-88-12).

2, 3 & 4 (M. B. under I-2-49).

5 मदराजः (M. B. under IV-1-1).

6 पञ्चालोद्वरति (M. B. under III-2-16).

7 वेदेदः (M. B. under I-4-4).

8 & 9 काशिकसलीयाः (M. B. under IV-1-54).

10 वेदर्भः (M. B. under I-4-1).

11 & 12 आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः (M. B. under IV-3-120).

13 परित्रिगतं वृष्टो देवः (M. B. under VIII-1-5).

14 Cf. *Paspasāhnikā*.

15 M. B. under कम्बोजालुङ्गः.

16 अविशालमधते शाङ्गणी—अपिचल्य शाङ्गणी ... काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना शाङ्गणी (M. B. under IV-1-13).

17 M. B. under VI-1-157.

(2) शिल्पिविशेषाद्वा (M. B. under I-2-9).

(3) शिल्पिनः उत्पादयमानाः द्रव्यान्तरेण प्रक्षालयन्ति (M. B. under V-3-55).

His wide knowledge of the world is patent from the following:—

(1) कश्चित् कान्तारं समुपास्थिते सार्थनुपादत्ते; स यदा निष्कान्त-
कान्तारो भवति तदा सार्थं जहाति (M. B. under I-1-74).

(2) पाञ्चाला जनपदः सुमिक्षः सम्पन्नपातीयः बहुमास्यफलः
(*ibid* I-2-52).

(3) बदरी सूक्ष्मकण्डका मधुरा वृक्षः (*ibid*).

(4) समाने रक्ते वर्णे गौर्लोहित इति भवति अश्वः शोण इति;
समाने च काले वर्णे गौः कृष्ण इति भवति अश्वो हेम इति; समाने च शुक्ले
वर्णे गौः श्वेत इति भवति अश्वः कर्क इति (*ibid* I-2-71) and (II-2-29).

(5) गावः उत्कालितपुंस्का वाहाय च विक्रयाय च (*ibid*).

(6) साङ्गाश्यकेभ्यः पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूपतराः (*ibid* I-3-11
etc.)

(7) योऽयं दुर्बलः सन् चलवद्भिः सह भारं वहति (*ibid*).

(8) साङ्गाश्यकेभ्यश्च पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्यश्च माथुरा अभिरूपतराः (*ibid*
V-3-57)

(9) ग्रामादागच्छन् कांस्यपात्र्यां पाणिनौदनं भुङ्क्ते (*ibid* I-4-24).

(10) गोमयादुधिको जायते, गोलोमाविलोमभ्यो दुर्घा जायन्ते (*ibid*
I-4-30).

(11) कश्चित् कञ्चिदामन्त्रयते 'सिद्धं भुज्यताम्' इति । स आमन्त्र्य-
माण आह 'प्रभूर्तं भुक्तमस्माभिः' इति । आमन्त्रयमाण आह 'दधि खलु
भविष्यति, पयः खलु भविष्यति' इति । आमन्त्रयमाण आह 'दध्ना खलु भुञ्जीय,
पयसा खलु भुञ्जीय' इति (*ibid* I-4-49).

(12) इह य एष मनुष्यो दुःखार्तो भवति सोऽन्यानि दुःखान्यनुनिशम्य
विपमक्षणमेव ज्यायो मन्यते । (*ibid* I-4-50).

(13) भिक्षुकोऽये द्वितीयां भिक्षां समासाद्य पूर्वां न जहाति, सञ्जयैव प्रवर्तते (*ibid* II-1-1).

(14) अवतते नकुला न चिरं स्यातारो भवन्ति (*ibid* II-1-47).

(15) लोहितशालिमान् ग्रामः (*ibid* II-1-68).

(16) सर्वे मनुष्या अल्पेनाल्पेन महतो महतोऽर्थोन्नाकाङ्क्षन्ति, एकेन मायेण शतसहस्रम् (*ibid*).

(17) समानर्माहमानान्त्राघीयानानां च केचिदर्थयुन्यन्ते अपरे न (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.)

(18) कौल आहन्यमानः प्रतिकौलं निर्हन्ति (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.)

(19) खं नाम चतुर्भिरेतत्प्रकारैर्भवति — कयणादपदहरणाद्याच्चाया विनिमयादिति (*ibid* II-3-50.)

(20) अनस्थिकाः क्षुद्रजन्तवः । अथवा येषां स्यं शोणितं नास्ति ते क्षुद्रजन्तवः etc (*ibid* II-4-8).

(21) य एते दासाः कर्मकरा नाम, तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते, मरुं चैलं च लप्स्यामहे परिभाषाश्च न नो भविष्यन्ति इति । तथा य एते शिल्पिनो नाम तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते घेतनं च लप्स्यामहे, मित्राणि च नो भविष्यन्ति इति (*ibid* III-1-26).

(22) शयाना वद्धन्ते दूर्वा, ... आसीनं वद्धन्ते विसम् (*ibid* III-2-126).

(23) कश्चिदन्नार्थी शालिकलापं सतुपं सपलालमाहरति नान्तरीय-कत्वात् । स यावदावेयम् तावदादाय तुपपलालान्युत्सृजति (*ibid* III-3-18).

(24) भोगचानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते (*ibid* V-1-9).

(25) अश्वोऽयं यद्यत्वारि योजनानि गच्छति, अश्वतरोऽयं योऽष्टौ योजनानि गच्छति (*ibid* V-3-55).

(26) इह समाने आयामे विस्तारे च पटस्य अन्योऽर्थो भवति काशिकस्य अन्यो माधुरस्य (*ibid*).

(27) पटुरयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यो लघुनोपायेनार्यान् साधयति, पटुकस्योऽयमित्युच्यते यो न तथा साधयति (*ibid* V-3-67).

(28) लोके ईश्वर आजापयति! आमाह्वामान्मनुष्या आनीयन्तां प्राग्गङ्गां ग्रामेभ्यो ब्राह्मणा आनीयन्तमिति येषु तत्र ग्रामेषु ब्राह्मणा न सन्ति न तर्हीदानीं ततोऽन्यस्यानयनं भवति । (*ibid* VI-1-2).

(29) क्षीरोदके संपृक्ते आमिश्रत्वात् ज्ञायते कियत्क्षीरं कियदुदकम् इति, कस्मिन्वावकाशे क्षीरं कस्मिन्नवकाशे उदकमिति, एवमिहाप्यामिश्रत्वात् ज्ञायते का प्रकृतिः कः प्रत्ययः, कस्मिन्वावकाशे प्रकृतिः कस्मिन्नवकाशे प्रत्यय इति (*ibid* VI-1-9).

(30) लोके यो द्वयोस्तुल्यबलयोरैकः प्रेभ्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति; यदा तु तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेष्यतो नानादिभु च कार्यं भवतस्तत्र यद्यस्मावविरोधार्थी भवति, तत उभयोर्न करोति (*ibid* VI-1-85).

(31) शतधारोऽयं मणिः (*ibid* VI-1-115).

(32) कश्चित् कंचित् तत्तुवायमाह 'अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वय' (*ibid* II-1-51 etc.).

(33) गुरुणा शिष्यच्छत्रवच्छाद्यः शिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः (*ibid* IV-4-62).

(34) य आशु कर्तव्यानर्थान्क्षिरेण करोति स उच्यते शीतक इति, यः पुनराशु कर्तव्यानर्थानाद्देव करोति स उच्यते उष्णक इति* (*ibid* V-2-72).

(35) नटानां स्त्रियो रज्जगता यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यूयं कस्य यूयमिति ते तं तत्र नवेत्याहुः (*ibid* VI-1-2.)

(36) अब्राह्मणमानय इत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृश एवानीयते, नासौ लोष्ट-मानीय कृती भवति (*ibid* III-1-12 etc.).

(37) हरिद्रौ कुकुटस्य पादौ, कापायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ (*ibid* IV-2-2.)

(38) अकुपिता अपि दृश्यन्ते दारकान्भर्त्सयमानः (*ibid* VIII-1-8.)

(39) द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्रूपमुपलभ्यते (*ibid* I-2-30.)

(40) वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी ।

पीता भवति सस्याय दुर्मिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥ (*ibid* II-3-13.)

The following *nyāyas* and their applications also bear testimony to his knowledge of the world :—

(1) फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन भवितव्यम् (*Paspaśu*).

(Attempt should have its reward).

(2) यच्च पुनरशिष्याग्रतिषिद्धं नैव तदोपाय नाभ्युदयाय (*ibid*).

(That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited brings neither de-merit if not done, nor merit if done).

(3) आम्राश्च सिन्हाः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः (*ibid* M. B. under VIII-2-3).

(Mango trees are watered and the manes are satisfied).

(4) योऽस्ति स प्रविष्यति (M. B. under अइडण्).

(That which exists in this world will make its appearance).

(5) समाने त्वर्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निवर्तकी भवति (*ibid* under कल्हृ).

(Though both convey the same meaning, the grammatically correct word enables us to avoid the use of the incorrect one).

(6) सैषा महतो वंशस्तम्बाल्लुदाकृष्यते (*ibid*).

(This is like catching a tiny bird from a cluster of tall bamboos).

(7) यत्र कियमाणे न दोषस्तत्र कर्तव्यम् (M. B. under एबोइ etc.)

(Operation should take place where arises no harm).

(8) ब्राह्मणा मोक्ष्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेषिष्यताम् (*ibid* under इयवरट).

(Let brahmins be fed and let Māthara and Kāuṇḍinya serve).

(9) इतरेतसश्चयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते (*ibid* under I-1-1).

(Two inter-dependent things never happen).

I सुभाः is another reading. *Pradipa* under (VII-1-18).

(10) अतजातीयकं लोके व्यवधायकं भवति (*ibid* under I-1-7).

(Only a dissimilar thing can separate two similar things in the world).

(11) प्रासादवासिन्यायः (*ibid* under I-1-8.)

(The *nyāya* of the resident on the top-floor. (i. e.) The resident of both the top-floor and the ground-floor will be included both among the residents of the top-floor and among those of the ground-floor.)

(12) न हि मिथुकास्ततीति स्थाल्यो नाधिधीयन्ते, न च मृगास्ततीति यवा नोप्यन्ते (*ibid* I-1-41, IV-1-1 and VI-1-13.)

(Cooking is not avoided fearing the beggars nor is *yava* not sown fearing animals.)

(13) दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां, तर्कं कौण्डिन्याय (*ibid* I-1-47, VI-1-2, VI-4-163 and VII-1-72.)

(Let curd be given to brahmins and butter-milk to *Kāuṇḍīnya*.)

(14) नष्टश्वदग्धरथन्यायः (*ibid* I-1-51.)

(The *nyāya* of the dead horse and the burnt chariot :— when two chariots go on a race and if the horse of one falls dead and the other chariot is burnt down, the horse of the one chariot is yoked to the other unburnt chariot.)

(15) माया न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते (*ibid*.)

(If it is enjoined that black gram should not be eaten, the mixture of black gram with others too is not eaten.)

(16) वो यस्य प्रसङ्गे भवति, लभते अस्मै तत्कार्याणि (*ibid* I-1-56.)

(The acting man gets the work of the permanent man.)

(17) सामान्ये अतिदिश्यमाने विशेषे नातिदिष्टो भवति (*ibid*.)

(Application of general characteristics through analogy does not comprehend the special characteristics.)

(18) अभ्यन्तरो हि समुदायस्यावयवः (*ibid*.)

(Part is included in the whole.)

(19) एकैज यत्नेनाभयं लभ्यम् (*ibid* I-1-39.)

(Strike two birds at one shot.)

(20) अपि काकः द्येनायते ? (*ibid* I-2-45.)

(Can a crow become a kite ?)

(21) आस्रान् पृष्टः कोविदारानाचष्टे (*ibid.*)

(Being questioned about a square, you answer about a circle.)

(22) न हि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति (*ibid* I-3-12.)

(Can a lizard become a serpent though with similar movement ?)

(23) अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति यं समुदायं योऽवयवो न व्यभिचरति (*ibid* I-3-62 and III-1-5.)

(Mark in a limb becomes a differentiating factor of the whole if that limb is an indispensable element of the whole.)

(24) कृतो घटः मटाश्रयाणां कार्याणां निमित्तं भवति, न कियमाणः (*ibid* III-1-3).

(Pot made is the source of deeds relating to a pot and not a pot to be made).

(25) सखियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यपायः (*ibid* IV-1-36 and V-1-66.)

(Injunction to two conjointly loses its hold when either disappears).

(26) यो हि भुक्तवन्तं व्यान्मा भुक्त्वा इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात् ? (*ibid* V-1-37.)

(What is the use of asking one not to eat when he has already eaten ?)

(27) कुम्भीघान्यन्यायः (*ibid* I-3-7).

(Nyāya of pot-grain—'He who has grain only in a pot can be called कुम्भीघान्य and not one who has grain elsewhere also).

(28) दण्डिन्यायः (*ibid* VIII-2-83).

(*Nyāya* of man with a stick—whenever the man is referred to, he should have a stick in his hand).

(29) अभिवर्धमानो गर्भः सर्वाङ्गपरिपूर्णो भवति (*ibid* VIII-2-106).

(Embryo, when it grows, grows on all sides).

Patañjali has also been pleased to frame and use the following *paribhāṣās* :—

(1) व्याख्यानतो विरोधप्रतिपत्तिरिति सन्देहादलक्षणम् (*Paspaśa* etc.)

(A *śāstric* statement, if not clearly understood, should not be thrown away, but should be understood through commentaries).

(2) असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (M. B. under एओइ etc.)

(*Bahiraṅgaśāstra* is non-existent before an *antaraṅgaśāstra*).

(3) निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति (*ibid* हयवरद).
(*Ādēśas* replace only those that are mentioned).

(4) कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I-1-5).

(*Samjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* appear on the scene of operation).

(5) यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I-1-11.)

(*Samjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* operate without leaving their respective position.)

(6) लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् (*ibid* I-1-14 etc.)

(Word mentioned has preference to word got from *lakṣaṇa*.)

(7) अर्थवद्ग्रहणेन नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् (*ibid*.)

(If one conveys meaning in one way of interpretation and no meaning in another, the former has preference.)

(8) गौणमुख्ययोः मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः (*ibid* I-1-15.)

(Operation should take place on the primary and not on the secondary one.)

(9) अर्थात् प्रकरणाद्वा कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः (*ibid* I-1-23 etc.)

(Action to proceed on the *krtrima* (newly made) and not on *akrtrima* (natural) decided through meaning or context.)

(10) पुरस्तादपवादः अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् (*ibid* I-1-28.)

(Rules of exceptions mentioned previously affect those that immediately follow them and not those which are further away.)

(11) अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गे विधिर्बाधते (*ibid* I-1-29.)

(*Bahiraṅga* rules sometimes overrule *antaraṅga* rules.)

(12) भाष्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न (*ibid* I-1-50 etc.)

(A letter taught in a rule cannot refer to those homogeneous with it.)

(13) स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् (*ibid* I-1-51.)

(Consonant is non-existent when rules concerning sonants operate.)

(14) नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वम् (*ibid* I-1-55.)

(*Anubandha* is not a factor to decide polysyllabism.)

(15) सकृद्रती विप्रतिरेधे यद्वाधितं तद् बाधितमेव (*ibid* I-1-56.)

(When two rules conflict with each other, the one, defeated after its first operation, is defeated for ever.)

(16) वर्णाश्रये नास्ति प्रत्ययलक्षणम् (*ibid* I-1-58.)

(Rule relating to a suffix does not operate when a rule relating to a letter has to operate.)

(17) अन्यत्र वर्णग्रहणे जातिग्रहणं भवति (*ibid* 1-2-41.)

(Letters refer to genus except when rules relating to the number of syllables operate.)

(18) अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा (*ibid* 1-2-48 etc.)

(*Vidhi* (enjoining) or *pratiśedha* (prohibition) refers to what is nearest).

(19) नाबुबन्धकृतमत्सारूप्यम् (*ibid* 1-3-9).

(Likeness is not affected between two letters though they have different *anubandhas* attached to them).

(20) विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान् (*ibid* 1-3-60.)

(*Niyama-vidhi* is more powerful than conjugational signs.)

(21) तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते (*ibid* 1-4-13.)

(Its part is made to denote it.)

(22) अवयवविधौ सामान्यविधिर्न भवति (*ibid* II-2-3).

(General rule does not operate when rules for parts are enjoined.)

(23) कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् (*ibid* IV-1-48.)

(*Krt* affix denotes the word ending with it together with the *gati* or the noun denoting a case-relation which may be prefixed to it).

(24) मध्येऽपवादः पूर्वान्विधीन् बाधन्ते (*ibid* IV-1-55.)

(Rules of exception in the middle affect those which precede).

Patañjali was aware of the different dialects of Sanskrit.¹ He gives different readings in one *sūtra*.²

1 अवतिर्गतिरुक्ता कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति । विकार एनमार्यो बाधन्ते शब्द इति । हस्मतिः सुरादेषु, रूतिः प्राच्यमर्थेषु, गमिमेव स्वार्थः प्रयुज्यते । दातिर्वक्तार्ये प्राच्येषु, कञ्चमुदीन्देऽ (Paapasa).

2 उभयथा आचार्येण शिष्याः सूत्रं प्रतिपादिताः । केचिदाकारादकारा संज्ञा इति, केचित् प्राकवारान्तरं कार्यम् इति (M. B. under 1-4-1).

He defines - वृत्ति as परार्थभिधानम् and classifies it into two:-

ब्रह्मस्वार्थ वृत्तिः and अज्ञहस्वार्थ वृत्तिः (M. B. under II-1-1)

He mentions the nature of स्फोट in:-

स्फोटः शब्दः ध्वनिः शब्दगुणः (M. B. under I-1-70.)

and the word स्फोट in स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते (M. B. under एओइ.)

He recognises four *pramāṇas* as is seen from

प्रत्यक्षेण स्वल्पमिदं विरुध्यते (M. B. under IV-1-3.)

प्रत्यक्षत्वेनाग्निधूमयोरभिसम्बन्धः कृतो भवति, विविष्टश्चकपरिवाज-
कयोश्च (ibid III-2-124.)

क्रिया नामेयमत्यन्तापरिदृष्टा सासावनुमानगम्या (ibid III-2-115)

उपमानात्सिद्धम् (ibid IV-1-33.)

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (ibid I-3-9.)

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् (ibid II-1-1 etc.)

He recognises that *Pāṇini's* grammar deals with words found in all *Vēdas*.

Of सर्ववेदपरिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् (M. B. under VI-3-14.)

His keen knowledge of all the four *Vēdas*, *Dharmasūtras*, *Śrāutasūtras*, *Gṛhyasūtras*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas*, *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* and *Nyāyasūtra* and his intimate knowledge of *Śrāuta-karma* and *Smṛitakarma* are patent from the profuse quotations he gives from them. It is elaborately dealt with by *Prabhat Candar Cakravarti* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. II. His mention of यावकीतिकः, प्रैयङ्गविकः, यायातिकः, and वानवदत्तिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः under IV-2-60 shows that before him *Akhyānas*, *Akhyāyikās*, *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsas* were studied by separate sets of people. His mention of ब्रह्म कंसं किल वासुदेवः under the question प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये इति किमर्थम्? under (III-2-111) tells us that he witnessed the story of *Kaṁsa-vadha* enacted before him. He also says कंसवधमाचष्टे, बलिदत्तमाचष्टे under III-1-26. His statement वारहचं काव्यम्,

जादूकाः श्लोकाः under IV-3-104 throws light on the existence of *Kāryas* in his time. The conversation described between a *vaiyākaraṇa* and a *śūta* under II-4-56 and the expression न त्विष्टिः clearly tell us that Sanskrit was a spoken language and *Patañjali* makes his readers understand thro' the conversation that the practice of telling इष्टि was prevalent before the time of *Patañjali*.

The expression कथं पुनरतस्मिन् स इत्येतद्वदति? चतुर्भिः प्रकारैः तस्मिन् स इत्येतद्वदति, तात्स्थ्यान् तादृश्यान् तत्साम्यीत्यान् तत्साहचर्यादिति under IV-I-48 and the expression किं योऽयः श्लेनान्विच्छति स आयःशूलिकः । किं चातः? । शिवभागवते प्राप्नोति under V-2-76 suggest that *Patañjali* was an *advaitin* and his *upāśyaśāstrakā* was *Śiva*.¹

METHOD ADOPTED IN WRITING BHĀṢYA

Rāmabhadra Dikṣita, Prof. Goldstuecker, Prof. Keilhorn and others consider that *Mahābhāṣya* is a commentary on *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*.² But the author of *Sahitakalpadrūma* says, परं पतञ्जलिः सूत्रपाठस्य वार्तिकस्य च महाभाष्यं विधाय सर्वतः प्रमाद-परिहृत्योऽयं पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायीग्रन्थ इति प्रदर्शयन् कात्यायनतीव्रदृष्टेः रक्षणेन समादरणीयं ग्रन्थमुत्तमम्. From the tabular statement in p. i it can be seen that out of about 4000 *sūtras* found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, about 1700 came to the purview of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Of them about 1200 have under them the *vārttikas*

1 Cf. *Patañjali* seems to have been an *Advaitaśāstrin* belonging probably to the *Advaita* set of *Śāiva* religion (The Indian Historical Quarterly II pp. 270-271 and Indian Antiquary Vol. XLI p. 272.)

2 मोमीन्द्र तेषां भुवि वार्तिकानामशेषविद्वज्जनदुर्गमज्ञानम् ।

भाष्यं महद्वर्तते मत्तरसौ नियोज्यते त्वां मिल नोलकयः ॥ (I-63.)

Mahābhāṣya... a critical discussion on the *Vārttikas* of *Kātyāyana*; while its *vārttikas*, on the other hand, are original *vārttikas* on such *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as called for his own remarks. (*Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 92.)

The *Mahābhāṣya* is, in the first instance, a commentary on *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*. (*Kātyāyana and Patañjali* p. 51.)

of one *Vārttikakāra*, about 25 have under them the *vārttikas* of two or more *Vārttikakāras* and about 425 have no *vārttikas* but only *bhāṣya*, (i.e.) about one fourth of the book deals with the interpretation of *Bhāṣyakāra* on the *sūtras*. Even in *sūtras* which have *vārttikas* under them, there are certain topics like तद्भावितग्रहण in वृद्धिरादेच which are *Patāñjali*'s own. Even among *Sivasūtras*, व्रमङ्गनम् and व्रमञ्ज have no *vārttikas* under them. Among 1200 *sūtras* which have *vārttikas*, the *vārttikas* under about 700 are simply explanatory. *Patāñjali* begins with a lucid commentary on the *vārttikas* more than half of which is in the form of *pūrvapakṣavārttikas* and *siddhāntavārttikas*. Whenever he differs from the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra* or *Vārttikakāras*, he appends his views at the end. *Patāñjali* almost always agrees with *Vārttikakāras* whenever they deal with the change of words morphologically and semantically. He sometimes refutes the amendment of *Kātyāyana* through the instrument of *yōgavibhāga* introduced by *Kātyāyana* himself. He gives his own *īstis* and makes very good use of the devices discovered by *Kātyāyana*. The spirit of independent thought combined with keen critical acumen and consummate scholarship pervades the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

DATES OF PATANJALI, KĀTYĀYANA AND PĀNINI

From the expressions पुष्यमित्रो यजते (under III-2-26), पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः (under III-2-123), पुष्यमित्रसभा (under I-1-69), अरण्यवनः सोकेतम्, अरण्यवनो मध्यमिकाम् (under III-2-111) scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar, Prof. Goldstucker have concluded that *Patāñjali* should have been at the court of *Pushyamitra* and lived at the time of Menander's invasion of *Sāketa* and hence could not have lived later than 160 B.C. *Kātyāyana*'s date is considered to be about 350 B.C. *Pāṇini* is taken by

1 *Vārttika* and *Vārttikakāra* found in the early part of the book may be corrected to *Vārttika* and *Vārttikakāra*.

2 Cf. *Pōtēns*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 92.

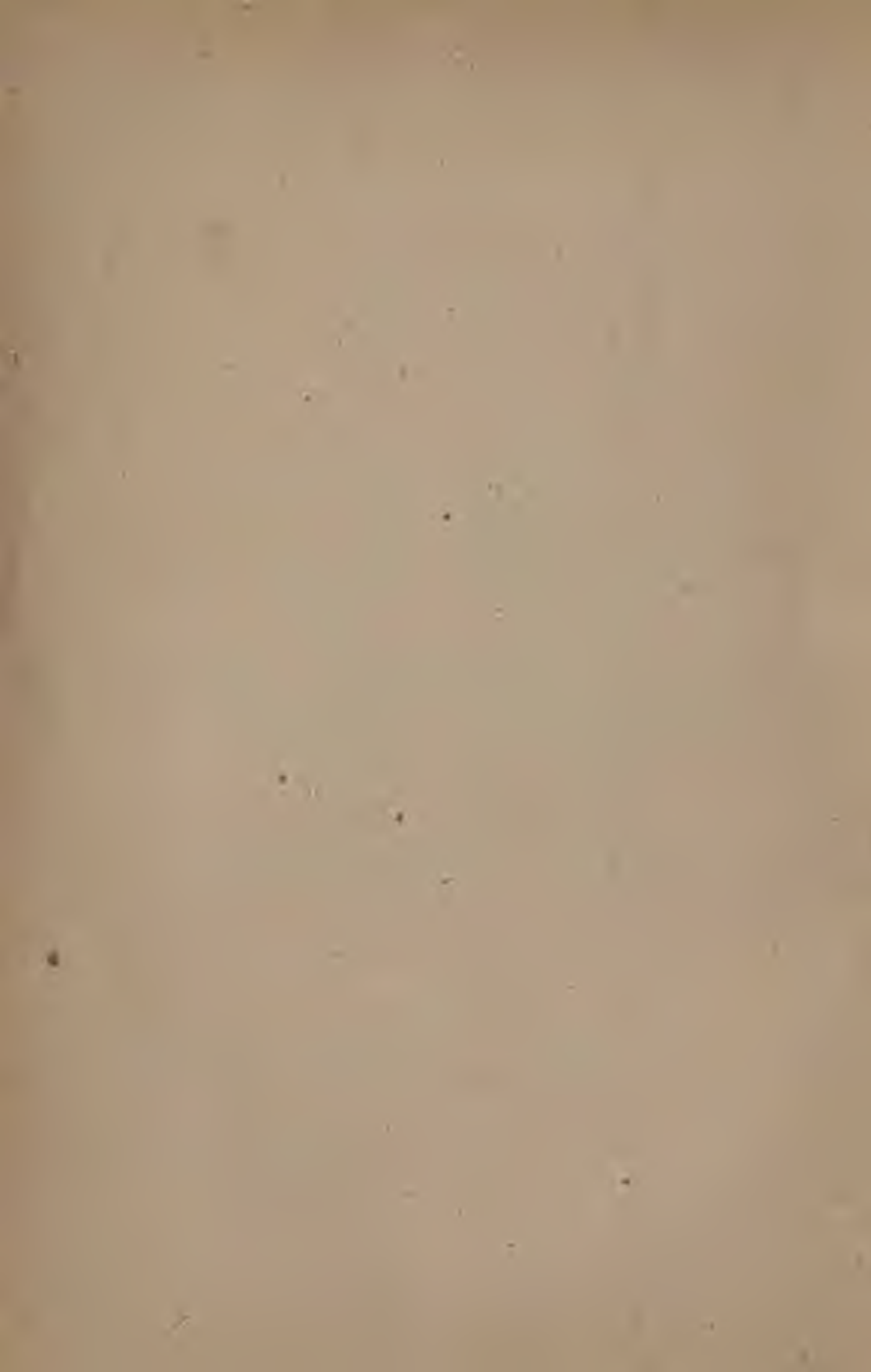
Prof. Max-Muller and other scholars to be a contemporary of *Kātyāyana*, while Prof. Goldstucker thinks that he should have lived long before *Kātyāyana*. 150 B. C., 350 B. C. and 550 B. C. may, for the present, be taken as the approximate dates of *Patañjali*, *Kātyāyana* and *Pāṇini*.

I express my heartfelt thanks to the Syndicate of the Annamalai University and to the two Vice-Chancellors Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi Naidu Garu, E. C. I. E., and Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, C. I. E., for having permitted this publication. I offer my *praṇāmas* to my *ācārya Mahāmahōpādhyāya* Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar for having gone through the Text and the Preface critically in spite of his weak health and for his Foreword. I am deeply indebted to *Śāstraratnākara* K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastriar of the Sanskrit Department of this University for having gone through all the proofs and for having given me valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Sri R. Sathianatha Ayyar M. A., Lecturer in History who suggested to me to look into the observations of Chinese travellers on *Pāṇini* and to Sri A. V. Nagaraja Sarma B. A., (Hon.) and Sri C. S. Venkateswaran B. A. (Hon.) of the Sanskrit Department of this University for having helped me in going through proofs.

May Lord *Naṭarāja* and Lord *Paśupatiśa* enable me to complete the work I have undertaken—Lectures on the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*!

Annamalainagar, }
1-7-1943. }

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.



LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्
ओं तमः पाणिनिकात्यायनपतञ्जलिमहर्षिभ्यो वंशगुरुभ्यो नमो गुरुभ्यः

INTRODUCTION

IT is now an accepted fact that Grammar follows Literature. The earliest Indian Literature is the Vedas. The Indians considered it their primary duty to preserve them intact. One of the means of preservation was the writing of Grammar and its study. Cf.

रक्षार्थं वेदानाम् अध्येयं व्याकरणम् (M. B. I, 1, 1)

That there were nine systems of Grammar is evident from the verse

सौष्ट्यं नवव्याकरणार्थवेत्ता ब्रह्मा भविष्यत्यपि ते प्रसादात्
(U. R. 36, 48).

wherein it is said that Hanūmān, the minister of Sugrīva, had a mastery over nine treatises on Grammar. Of them Pāṇini's treatise seems to be the last since Hanūmān is said to have studied *Saṅgraha*, an elaborate work written by *Vyāḍi* in hundred thousand verses based on Pāṇini's Grammar. Cf.

ससूत्रवृत्त्यर्थपदं महार्थं ससङ्ग्रहं साध्यति वै कपीन्द्रः
(U. R. 36, 46).

A grammatical treatise by Indra is mentioned in tradition to have been the first of the nine; but such a treatise does

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHABHĀṢYA

not seem to have been mentioned of in any work. The only reference to Indra's being connected with Grammar is found in Mahābhāṣya, where it is said that Indra attempted in vain to make a detailed study, in 1000 divine years, of all the words current, at the feet of the preceptor of the devas.

बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच,
न चान्तं जगाम । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्च अध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अध्ययन-
कालः ॥^e

(M. B. I. 1, 1).

The revered Pāṇini wrote his work in *eight* chapters of *four* pādas, each in the form of sūtras. Sūtras are short sentences, unambiguous, clear and comprehensive. Cf.

अल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम् ।
अस्तोममनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

The invaluable service done by Pāṇini to Sanskrit can well be appreciated only by a close study of his work. The division of his work into two parts, the former comprising the first seven chapters and the first pāda of the last and the latter, the last three pādas of the last, is an art by itself. The sūtras of the latter part are said to be non-existent when those of the former part operate Cf.

^eIt may be noted that (1) in the Foreword to Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant Tamil Grammar, we find the statement "*Aintiram niruinta Tolkāppiyam*," (Tolkāppiyam well-versed in *Aindra*) and (2) under sūtra 74 of collatikāram, Cēnāvaraiyar says "*Aintiranūlār vāi-vērumaiyai eṭṭām-vērumaiyūka nērtār*" (The author of the *Aindra* called the vocative case, the eighth case).

INTRODUCTION

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (P. VIII ३, 1.)

His work was commented upon in an elaborate treatise consisting of 100000 verses, by Vyādi who was said by my revered guru to have been the grandson of Pāṇini. It was named *Saṅgraha*. Unfortunately the work seems to have been lost. We get only stray references to it. Cf.

सङ्ग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यो वा स्यात्कार्यो वेति ।

(M. B. I. 1, 1).

Later on, a large number of grammarians commented upon the sūtras of Pāṇini. Their works were called *Vārtikas*. They have not only elucidated the views of Pāṇini, but also added the explanation of words which became newly current in their times and rejected those that fell out of use. Cf.

उक्तानुक्तदुक्तानां चिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते ।

तं ग्रन्थं वार्तिकं प्राहुः वार्तिकज्ञा मनीषिणः ॥

It is a sad feature that the names of all of them except one are not now known to us. He is *Kātyāyana* by *Gotra* and *Vararuci* by name. It is a matter for research whether he is himself the author of the Śrāuta sūtras, *Sarvānukramanī* etc., or different from him.

Then came Patañjali who is believed by the *āstikas* to have been the incarnation of Ādiśeṣa. He wrote his *Mahābhāṣya* which is an elaborate treatise dealing with discussions on many of the sūtras of Pāṇini and the *vārtikas* of the different *Vārtikakāras*. It is not only a commentary on the sūtras and the *vārtikas*, but also a critical treatise discussing on the necessity of the above sūtras and *vārtikas*. He shows that some of the sūtras are not necessary and that their purpose is served by *Jñāpakas*. He sometimes

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

disagrees with the criticism of the Vārtikakāras against Pāṇini and establishes with forcible arguments the views of Pāṇini. Cf.

सूत्रार्थो वर्ण्यते यत्र वाक्यैः सूत्रानुसारिभिः ।
स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः ॥

The method adopted by him in his arguments is very fine. He proves his point by analogy with *nyāyas* current in the world.

When there are *bhāṣyas* for all śāstras, why should the *bhāṣya* of Vyākaraṇa alone be called Mahābhāṣya? This question is answered, by Bhartṛhari and Puṇyarāja, the commentator on Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya, that it is not only a treatise on Grammar, but also the fountain-source of all *nyāyas*.

कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महामाष्ये निबन्धने ॥ (V. II 485)

तच्च भाष्यं न केवलं व्याकरणस्य निबन्धनं यावत्सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां बोद्धव्य-
मित्यत एव सर्वन्यायबीजहेतुत्वादेव महच्छब्देन विशेष्य महामाष्यमित्युच्यते लोके
(P. II 485).

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the renowned all-round veteran scholar of the seventeenth century answers the same question thus:—It is not only a commentary, but also a criticism on the sūtras and vārtikas, wherein he gives his own views though they do not agree with those of the Sūtrakāra and Vārtikakāras. Cf.

व्याख्यातृत्वेऽपि अस्य इष्ट्यादिकथनेन अन्वाख्यातृत्वात् इतरभाष्यवैलक्षण्येन
महत्त्वम्
(M. B. I, 1, 1.)

INTRODUCTION

The Mahābhāṣya was used to be read by orthodox Indian grammarians in the same way as the Vedāntabhāṣyas. The *śānti* that was recited at the beginning was—

वाक्यकारं वरुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ।

पाणिनिं सूत्रकारञ्च प्रणतोऽस्मि मुनित्रयम् ॥

योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मले शरीरस्य च वैद्यकेन ।

योऽपाकरोत्तं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि ॥

From this it is evident that, according to tradition, Patañjali was the author of not only the Mahābhāṣya but also the Yogasūtra and a work on Indian medicine.

Some seem to doubt the identity of the author of the Yogasūtra with that of Mahābhāṣya since Vyāsa is said to be the commentator of the Yogasūtra and he is identical with the author of the Vedāntasūtras. Since there is no conclusive proof for the identity of the two Vyāsas, it may be taken that Vyāsa, the commentator on the Yogasūtra was different from the Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa and the two Patañjalis are identical.

The study of the Mahābhāṣya was closed on the dvādaśī with *Maṅgalapāṭha* (since Pāṇini is believed to have left this world on the *trayōdaśī*) and commenced again on the *dvitīyā*. On the maṅgalapāṭha day mustard and curd were offered to the three munis Pāṇini, Vararuci and Patañjali.

The Sanskrit scholars had so much regard to Mahābhāṣya that they said

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्

पस्पशाह्निकम्

The sūtras found in the *first* pāda of the first adhyāya of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī are discussed along with the vārtikas in nine āhnika. The first āhnika is named *paspāśāhnika*. This name should have been at least as old as the time of Māgha since he mentions this in one of his verses in the Śīsupālavadha. Cf:

अनुत्सृज्यपदं न्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सखिवन्धना ।

शब्दविधेयं नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा ॥ (Śi. II 112)

The word पस्पशा is derived from the root स्पश् which means to refute or to touch upon. This āhnika refutes the arguments of others and touches upon the preliminaries of the śāstra. The second āhnika is named प्रत्याहाराह्निक since it deals with the *pratyāhāra* sūtras अइउण्, ऋलृक्, एओऌ, etc. From the third āhnika onwards discussions on the sūtras commencing with वृद्धिरादैच् are found.

The topics dealt with in the first āhnika are (1) the commencement of the Śāstra, (2) the classification of words, (3) the definition of Śabda, (4) the use of the study of this śāstra, (5) the method to be adopted in expounding the śāstra, (6) the *nityatva* (eternity) or the *kāryatva* (transitoriness) of śabda, (7) the need for the śāstra on account of its expounding that correct words are needed for *Dharma*, (8) the meaning of the word व्याकरणम् and (9) the need for making use of the *pratyāhāra* sūtras अइउण् etc., in this śāstra.

I

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

The expression 'अथ शब्दानुशासनम्' is a sūtra-like sentence of the Mahābhāṣyakāra and it is explained by the following sentences

अथेत्ययं शब्दः अधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते—शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्

It means 'the *Śabdānuśāsanam* commenceth.'; The *Śabdānuśāsanam* means the science wherein the derivation of words is explained.

What is the meaning of the word अथ here? Its meanings are stated by the author of Amarakośa thus:

मङ्गलानन्तरारम्भप्रश्नकार्त्तव्ययो अथ

Here it means आरम्भः (commencement). Then arises the question whether the word अथ denotes commencement or suggests it, i. e., in other words, whether the word अथ is आरम्भवाचक or आरम्भद्वयोक्त. Kaiyaṭa the author of the *pradīp* on *mahābhāṣya*, and Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit, the author of the *Siddhānta-kāumudī*, Manōrama, Śabdakāustubha etc., hold the former view and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Uddyōta* on *Mahābhāṣya* holds the latter view. The authorities for Nāgeśa's view are the *kārikā* of Bhartṛhari

निपाता द्योतकाः केचित्पृथगर्थमिधायिनः ।

आगमा इव केऽपि स्युः सम्प्रयार्थस्य वाचकाः ॥ (V. II 194)

and the भाष्य under the sūtra

अव्ययं विभक्ति समीप.....साकल्यान्तवचनेषु (P. II 1.6)

When the word अथ in 'अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा', 'अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा' means आन्तर्त्यम् (immediate succession), why should not the same word have the same meaning here? धर्मविचार invariably requires the knowledge of the Vedas and hence it

follows the study of the Vedas. Similarly ब्रह्मविचार must invariably be preceded by the possession of four requisites:—*नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकः* (discriminating the eternal from the non-eternal), *इहामुत्रार्थफलभोगविरागः* (averseness from enjoyment here or elsewhere), *शमदमादिसम्पत्* (control of the senses etc.) and *मुमुक्षुत्वम्* (desire to be relieved of this bondage of mortal life). Hence अथ there has to be taken to mean 'immediate succession.' But, on the other hand, the study of Grammar does not invariably need anything before it. One may doubt the veracity of this statement since the knowledge of literature is considered necessary before one begins to study Grammar. Though it is right to think so, yet he should be made to remember that it is not always the case.

If the word अथ suggests commencement, one may think that it may be discarded since the word शब्दानुशासनम् alone may suggest it. This is answered by Kāiṣaṭha thus—

अनेकक्रियाविषयस्यापि शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रारम्भमाणता अथशब्दसन्निधाने प्रतीयते

(The use of the word śabdānuśāsanam alone may enable one to interpret it as śabdānuśāsanam *śrūyatē*, *kriyatē* etc.) The word अथ shows that it means शब्दानुशासनमारम्भते. If one thinks that the above doubt may be cleared by the expression अधिकृत in the विवरणभाष्य, he may be answered that the word अथ not only serves this purpose but also indicates another meaning.

It indicates auspiciousness (*maṅgala*). It has been the practice of Indian writers to invoke the blessings of God at the commencement of their work so that the work may see its end without any difficulty. This is done either by writing verses in the form of prayer or by using word or words that indicate it. Just as the sound of drums indicates

the marriage in a house, so also the word *atha* is taken to indicate *maṅgala* since it is considered to be one of the two words that first emanated from the mouth of *Brahmā*, the Creator. Cf.

ओंकारश्चाथशब्दश्च ब्रूवितौ ब्रह्मणः पुरा ।
कण्ठे मित्त्वा विनिर्यातौ तस्मान्माङ्गलिकावुमौ ॥

The reason why Patañjali indicated *maṅgala* without actually giving expression to it in the form of prayer may be that Pāṇini, the Sūtrakāra and Vararuci, the Vārtikakāra have indicated *maṅgala* and not expressed it by the words *बुद्धिः* and *सिद्धे* respectively in the first sūtra *बुद्धिरादैच्* and the first vārtika

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः

It was stated that the expression

अथेत्यस्य शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् is विवरणमाप्यम्. The word *इति* is used here so that the word *atha* here means the *word* and not its *meaning*. Cf.

इतिशब्दः पदार्थविपर्यासकृतः.

When one says *रामः रात्रणं जघान*, the word *Rāmaḥ* means the *person* Rāma ; but, on the other hand, if one says

राम इति तस्य नाम

the word *Rāma* means the *word* Rāma made up of the two letters *रा* and *म*.

Since Pāṇini, the Sūtrakāra has stated in his sūtra

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा (P. I 1, 68)

(that in his work a word means its *form* and not its *meaning*) and since the Mahābhāṣya is a work on grammar, one may think that the word '*iti*' in the *Vivaraṇa bhāṣhya* is not necessary. But Patañjali by his use of *iti* here suggests that Pāṇini's tenet

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा

does not hold good here.

The use of the word *ayam* after the word *iti* is to make the readers think of *atha* in the preceding sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* and not elsewhere as in *atha yogānuśāsanam*. Patañjali is not sparing in words. Though the word *śabda* is not necessary since the word *iti* suggests that *atha* denotes the word *atha*, he has used it so that it may be easily understood by the readers.

The word *adhikāra* means commencement. The derivation of *śabdānuśāsanam* is *śabdānām anuśāsanam* and that of *anuśāsanam* is

अनुशिष्यन्ते, असाधुशब्देभ्यो विविच्य ज्ञाप्यन्ते, साधुशब्दाः अनेन

The suffix *ana* in *śabdānuśāsanam* denotes instrument and hence the word *śabdānuśāsanam* means Grammar. The use of the sixth case in *śabdānām anuśāsanam* is on the authority of the sūtra

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति (P. II. 3, 65)

and not उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि, since otherwise the samāsa *śabdānuśāsanam* would be prevented by the sūtra कर्मणि च.

Hence the sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* means 'the Grammar commenceth'. Its statement instead of *Vyā-*

karanaśāstram ārabhyatē serves the following purposes : (1) *maṅgalam* is indicated by *atha* (2) *śabda* is the *viṣaya* (topic for discussion) in this work (3) the knowledge of the derivation of *śabda* by the readers is the aim of this work and (4) those who are eager to learn Grammar are fit to study it.

Readers can completely comprehend the meaning of the sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* only if they are fully aware of the connotation and the denotation of the words which make it up. The meaning of *atha* has been explained by the Bhāṣyakāra himself and the meaning of *anuśāsanam* is learnt from the meaning of the root *śās* which is found in the *dhātupāṭha* and the meaning of the suffix *ana* from the *sūtra*.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च (P. III, 3, 117).

But neither the denotation nor the connotation of *śabda* is clear to the reader. Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra goes to the next topic which deals with the classification of *śabda*.

II

केषां शब्दानाम् ? लौकिकानां वैदिकानाञ्च । तत्र लौकिकास्तावत्, गौश्चः पुरुषो हस्ती शकुनिर्मृगो ब्राह्मण इति । वैदिकाः खल्वपि-शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये ; इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा ; अग्निमीले पुरोहितम् ; अग्न आयाहि वीतये इति ॥

Of which *śabdās* ? Of those current in the world and in the Vedas. Among them the *lūkika* *śabdās* are गौः (cow), अश्वः (horse), पुरुषः (person), हस्ती (elephant), शकुनिः (bird), मृगः (deer), ब्राह्मणः (brāhmaṇa) etc. The *Vāidika śabdās* are शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये [Let the waters bring us happiness (so that we may perform sacrifice)] ; इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा [(I cut) you for food and vitality] ; अग्निमीले पुरोहितम् (I invoke Agni, the divine priest) ;

अ॒ग्ने॑ आ॒याहि॑ वी॒तये॑ । (Oh Agni, go over here to consume the oblations).

What is the need for this question *केषां शब्दानाम्*? Kāiṣaṭha and Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa differ in their answer on this point. The former is of opinion that since the word *śabda* denotes not only the words of human speech but also cries of birds, animals etc., Mahābhāṣyakāra wants to inform the readers clearly that it denotes only speech-words here. In that case one may think that the answer *मनुजशब्दानाम्* would have been more appropriate. Had that answer been given, it may not make the readers understand clearly that *śabda* denotes Vāidika expressions also and it may even enable them to mistake that *śabda* denotes *upaśabdās* (incorrect expressions) also. Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa feels, on the other hand, that this question is intended to inform the readers that *śabda* here denotes not only the *lāukika śabda* but also the *Vāidika śabda*, and thus enable them to understand that Pāṇini does not deal in his grammar only with *lāukika śabdās* as in *शाकटायनव्याकरणम्*, nor only with *Vāidika śabdās* as in *प्रतिशाख्य*, but with both.

Since the Vedas form part of the world, the *Vāidika śabdās* form a part of the *lāukika śabdās*. Then what is the need for the expression *Vāidikānām ca*? The need is felt since the author wants to give prominence to the *Vāidika śabda*. The expression *Vāidikānām ca* here is similar to the expression *Vasiṣṭhōpi* in the sentence *ब्राह्मण आगतः वसिष्ठोऽप्यगतः* (Brāhmaṇas have come and also *Vasiṣṭha*). The expression *Vasiṣṭhōpi* does not preclude *Vasiṣṭha* from being a Brāhmaṇa, but suggests that he is the Brāhmaṇa of Brāhmaṇas. The *Vāidika śabdās* are considered to be more prominent than the *lāukika śabdās*, since the latter should not be mispronounced *only in sacrifices* (याज्ञे कर्मणि) and the

former *on no occasion*. Or it may be taken that Mahā-bhāṣyakāra may have stated लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च similar to the statements of Pāṇini छन्दसि च (V. 1. 61), भाषायां सदवसथुवः (III. 2. 108).

The *lāukika śabdās* are illustrated by गौः, अश्वः, etc. It is worthy of note that the list of words given by Yāska in his Nirukta commences with the same words,

सत्त्वानामुपदेशः । गौश्चः पुरुषो हर्ताति । (N. 1, 1,2)

The *Vaidika śabdās* are illustrated by the sentences शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये etc. This clearly shows that, in Vedas, the order of words should not be changed, that they should be pronounced with their respective *svara* and that the sentence accent is more powerful than the word accent.

The four sentences mentioned above शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये, इपे त्वोजं त्वा, अग्निमीले पुरोहितम्, अग्न आयाहि वीतये respectively represent the Atharvaveda, the Yajurveda, the Rgveda and the Sāmaveda. It may be a surprise to the Brāhmaṇas to see that the order is inverted here since they have been accustomed to repeat them in a different order while they perform their *Brahmayajña*. The order that they follow then is अग्निमीले पुरोहितम्, इपे त्वोजं त्वा, अग्न आयाहि वीतये, शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये. Hence it is necessary to infer some reason or other for this inversion.

From Dharmasūtras it is plain that those that are authorised to study the Vedas have to study all the Vedas. If it is not practicable, they are allowed to study two or at least one. Cf.

वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम् ।

अविष्णुतन्नमचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रममावसेत् ॥ (M. III. 2)

It may also be noted that there were people who studied all the four Vedas in forty-eight years. *Cf.*

अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पुराणां वेदब्रह्मचर्यम् (B.D. I. 2. 1).

அறுநான் கிட்டி விளமை நல்லியாண்டு
ஆயிரிற் கழிப்பிய வருனவில் கோள்கை

... ..
இருபிற்ப் பானர் பொழுதறிந்து நுவல

திரு. மு. (179—82)

If one is prepared to study all the Vedas the injunction

स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः

says that he should first study the Veda which was first studied by his forefathers. Otherwise he is said to become a sinner. *Cf.*

पारंपर्यागतो येषां वेदस्सपरिवृंहणः ।
तच्छास्त्राकर्म कुर्वीत तच्छास्त्राध्ययनं तथा ॥
यः स्वशास्त्रां परित्यज्य पारक्यमधिगच्छति ।
स शूद्रवद्वहिष्कार्यमसर्वकर्मसु साधुभिः ॥ (Y.)

Hence it seems to me that Mahābhāṣyakāra studied the Atharvaveda first and then the Yajurveda, the Rgvēda and the Sāmaveda. This is also supported by the fact that on another occasion when he says that students repeat the Vedas as taught to them without questioning the why of it, he mentions

ओं इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति (M. B. I. 1. 1)

Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Śivadatta D. Kudala, the editor of the Mahābhāṣya which was published by Tukarama Javaji writes in the foot-note under this portion that the Atharvaveda is mentioned first since the *Brahmā*, one of the four principal priests of a sacrifice, is to be conversant with all the Vedas and he should know how to avert difficulties both from within and from without, for which the knowledge of the Atharvaveda is necessary. Since अथर्व्युः is mentioned immediately after *Brahmā* the Yajurveda is mentioned next and since the *Sāma* is based upon ऋक्, the R̥gvēda is mentioned next. He gives also an alternative explanation that the Atharvaveda is mentioned first since it is stated in *Muṇḍakōpaniṣad* that *Brahmā* first taught his eldest son *Atharva*, the *Brahmavidyā*. Cf.

ब्रह्मा देवानां प्रथमं सम्बभूव विश्वस्य कर्ता भुवनस्य गोप्ता,
स ब्रह्मविद्यां सर्वविद्याप्रतिष्ठापयित्वा ज्येष्ठपुत्राय प्राह ।

शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये which is generally stated to represent the Atharvaveda is only the first R̥k of the sixth sukta in the first kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda ; while

ये त्रिप॒ताः प॒रि॒यन्ति॑ वि॒श्वा रू॒पाणि॑ वि॒भ्रतः॑ ।
वा॒चस्पति॑र्षि॒र्षा तेषां॑ त॒न्वोअ॒द्य द॑धातु मे ॥

happens to be the first R̥k of the first sukta in the Atharvaveda. I am unable to understand why शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये is preferred to ये त्रिपताः परियन्ति, though इषे त्वोजं त्वा, अग्निर्माले पुरोहितम् अन्न आयाहि वीतये are at the commencement of the Yajurveda, the R̥gvēda and the Sāmaveda respectively.

Having thus dealt with the denotation of the word śabda, Mahābhāṣyakāra begins to deal with its connotation.

III

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः ? किं यत्तत्साखालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाण्यर्थरूपं स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, द्रव्यं नाम तत् । यत्तर्हि तदिदं चेतितं निमित्तमिति स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, क्रिया नाम सा । यत्तर्हि तत् गुह्यो नीलः कपिलः कपोत इति स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, गुणो नाम सः । यत्तर्हि तद्विशेषमिति छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नं सामान्य-भूते स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, आकृतिर्नाम सा । कस्तर्हि शब्दः ? येनोच्चारितेन साखालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः ; अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते । तद्यथा, शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्यं माणवकः, इति ध्वनिं कुर्वन्नेवमुच्यते । तस्मात् ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

Now, when one says गौः, what is śabda ? Is it the object which has the dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc.? No, he says, it is called *dravya*. Is it then its gesture, movement or winking? No, he says, it is called *kriyā* or action. Is it then the whiteness, blueness, brownness, or greyness? No, he says; it is called *guṇa*. Is it then the sum-total of the qualities like *sattā* which ever exists even when the individuals are broken or destroyed? No, he says, it is called *ākṛti*. Then what is śabda ? Śabda is that on whose manifestation the correct knowledge of the object which has dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc., is produced; or, the sound which has a decisive meaning is said to be śabda in the world. It is clear from the fact that he who makes noise is told thus: 'Make śabda!', 'Do not make śabda.', 'This student is a maker of śabda.' Hence *dhvani* is śabda.

When a word like गौः is pronounced, the following concepts appear in the mind of the hearer :—the species cow, her action, her qualities, genus cow, the shape of the cow—and also the word made up of *y*, *āu* and *visarga* strikes his ear. The hearer begins to doubt whether on pronouncing गौः the

śabda refers to the species cow, her actions etc. It may seem absurd to some to think so since the species cow, her qualities etc., are seen by the eyes and the word गौः is heard by the ear. But since the relation of शब्द and अर्थ, गुण and गुणिन्, क्रिया and क्रियावान् in Sanskrit is identity according to the Sanskrit grammarians and there is a rule तदभिवाचित्रस्य तदभिन्नत्वम्, it is quite natural to think so. Mahābhāṣyakāra says that they are not the connotation of *śabda* and the true connotation is स्फोटः—that, which, when manifested, enables the hearer to have a clear knowledge of the object cow.

Is it not then the sound that strikes the ear? At first he says 'no' for the following reasons:—In words made up of more than one letter, if one letter is capable of giving the sense of the whole word, the other letters are unnecessary. If, on the other hand, the whole made up of all letters is considered to be capable of giving the sense, it is not possible to have the whole pronounced at the same time. Hence the Sanskrit grammarians say that every letter that is pronounced makes an impression in the mind and the sum-total of the impressions made by all the letters of the word suggest the sense. Hence *śabda* is not what we hear, but it is that which is manifested in the mind after the whole word is pronounced.

It may be useful in this context to mention that the Sanskrit grammarians state that *śabda* is of four phases:—परा, (*parā*), पश्यन्ती, (*paśyanti*), मध्यमा, (*madhyamā*) and वैखरी (*vāikharī*), *parā* being that phase of the शब्दब्रह्मन्, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at मूलाधार, or sacral plexus, *paśyanti* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to yōgins, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vāikharī* being that phase which is manifested

out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following Rk mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya and the following *kārikā* found in Bhartṛhari's *Vākya-padīya* :—

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।

गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेक्ष्यन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

(M. B. I. 1. 1.)

वैखर्या मध्यमायाश्च पश्यन्त्याश्चैतदद्भुतम् ।

अनेकतीर्थभेदायास्त्रय्या वाचः परं पदम् ॥ (V. I. 144).

Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa says that the definition

येनोच्चारितेन सास्त्रालङ्कारकुदरुविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो जायते स शब्दः

applies to *mudhyamā* and the definition प्रतीतपदार्थको ध्वनिः शब्दः applies to *vāikharī*. Cf.

ध्वनिपदेनात्र वैखरी, स्फोटपदेनाभिव्यक्तकत्वादिको मध्यमावस्थ आन्तरः शब्द उच्यते
Even though that

येनोच्चारितेन सास्त्रालङ्कारकुदरुविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो जायते स शब्दः

is the true definition of a word, yet Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests another definition also which is current in the world.

The statements शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्ययं माणवकः are taken by Kāiṣya to be विधिः (injunction) निषेधः, (prohibition), and वस्तुस्थितिकथनम् (statement of actual fact). But all the three may be pronounced with the same purpose to silence a noisy boy. There is no doubt that in that case शब्दं कुरु and शब्दकार्ययं माणवकः will have to be pronounced in a particular tone, the former in a sarcastic tone and the latter in a complaining tone. If one begins to question why he should give expression to three sentences which have the same

meaning, the answer is that Mahābhāṣyakāra takes pleasure in such statements:—*Cf.*

धर्माय नियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः

वृत्तये समवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायः (M.B. I. 1—1.)

The word *atha* in अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः introduces the question गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः; hence Nāgōjī Bhaṭṭa says धृच्छयते इति शेषः । यत्तत् is used in the sense of यत्. The use of the neuter in यत्तत् and the use of the masculine in सः is sanctioned by the statement

उद्दिश्यमानप्रतिनिर्दिश्यमानयोरैकत्वमापादयन्ति सर्वनामानि पर्यायेण तल्लिङ्गमुपाददते ।
(K. I. 1. 1.)

The statement मिश्रेष्वभिन्नम् suggests the oneness and the all-pervasiveness and छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नम् suggests the perpetuity.

The word सामान्यभूतम् is taken by Kāiyāṭa in the sense सामान्यमिव. But since the word सामान्य here denotes सत्ता the व्यापकजातिः, and आकृतिः is the व्याप्यजातिः and there can be no comparison between two things that are व्यापक and व्याप्य. Nāgōjī Bhaṭṭa takes it to mean सामान्यस्वरूपम्, and he quotes a similar use of *bhūta* in Mahābhāṣya प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः, (I. 1. 3.) in support of his interpretation.

The word आकृतिः here means not only genus, but also shape. Wherever Mahābhāṣyakāra deals with the word आकृतिः, he takes it in both the senses. *Cf.*

आकृतिर्हि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् . . . द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या (M.B. I. 1. 1)

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् . . . रूपसामान्याद्वा (M.B. I. 1. 2.)

The authority for his taking shape also to be the sense of आकृति is the sūtra of Gāutama व्यक्त्याकृतिजातयः पदार्थैः
(II. 2. 63).

The meaning of उच्चारितेन is अभिव्यक्तेन (by that which is manifested). उच्चरितेन is another reading. It is found in the स्फोटसिद्धि of Ācārya Maṇḍana Miśra published by the University of Madras.

IV

Unless one is informed of the advantages to be derived from doing a thing, one is not generally inclined to do it.*

So the question arises

कानि पुनः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What then are the advantages derived from the study of grammar and what is the authority that enjoins it? Here the word शब्दानुशासनस्य, though it means 'of grammar,' should be taken to mean 'of the study of grammar' (शब्दानुशासनाध्ययनस्य.)

The word प्रयोजनानि means not only 'the benefits' but also 'the authorities that enjoin' (प्रयोजकानि). In both the meanings the derivation of the word प्रयोजनम् is प्रयुज्यते अनेन. Kāiyaṭa under this line says

किं सन्ध्योपासनादिवत् व्याकरणाध्ययनं नित्यं कर्म अथ काम्यमिति प्रश्नः

It means that the question is whether the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* like morning and evening ablutions (*sandhyōpāsana*) or *kāmya-karma*. *Nitya-karma* is that, the performance of which is not considered to bear positive fruit and the non-performance of which is considered to produce demerit. *Kāmya-karma*, on the other hand, is that,

* प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न सन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते ।

(Even a fool does not attempt a thing for nothing).

the performance of which bears the *desired* fruit and the non-performance does not bring any demerit.

The above question is answered thus :—

रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम्

The advantages are (1) रक्षा [protection (of the Vedas)], (2) ऊहः [modification (of Vedic mantras)], (3) लघु [easy means (of acquiring the knowledge of words)], and (4) असन्देहः (absence of ambiguity) and the authority is आगमः (Vedas).

It is worthy of note that the compound word रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः is in the plural and the word प्रयोजनम् is in the singular. Such a usage is sanctioned by the statement एकवच अस्य अन्यतरस्याम् (its use in singular is optional) in the sūtra

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवचास्यान्यतरस्याम् । (P. I. 2. 69).

रक्षा—

रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम् । लोपागमवर्णविकारज्ञो हि सम्यग्वेदान्तरिपालविष्यतीति ॥

To protect the Vedas, grammar is to be studied. For, only he who has a correct knowledge of the elision, the augmentation and the substitution of sounds is thoroughly capable of preserving the Vedas intact. For instance, in the Vedic expression देवा अदुह (gods milked), the regular form अदुहत is replaced by अदुह where त has been elided and र् has been augmented. Similarly in the expression उद्ग्राभं च निग्राभं च (V. S. 17, 64) भ् is substituted for ह.* One who is not conversant with the rules of grammar which sanction such usages may have a tendency to correct them.

* This is according to the descriptive grammar; for according to the historical grammar ह् had भ् as one of its sources.

ऊहः खल्वपि—

न सर्वैर्लिङ्गैर्न च सर्वाभिर्विभक्तिभिर्वेदे मन्त्रा निगदिताः । ते चावश्यं यजुर्गतेन पुरुषेण यथायथं विपरिणमयितव्याः, ताज्जवैयाकरणः शक्नोति यथायथं विपरिणमयितुम् । तस्माद्ध्येयं व्याकरणम् ।

Modification also (is one of the advantages). Mantras are not mentioned in the Vedas in all genders and cases. They have to be necessarily modified by the priest in a sacrifice according to the context (i.e.) to suit the particular god or gods invoked. It is not possible for a non-grammarian to suitably modify them. Hence is the need to study grammar.

For instance there is a mantra अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं निर्वपामि (V. S. I. 13. 2) in the Yajurveda. It is evident that this mantra should be pronounced when the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. If one is eager of getting ब्रह्मवर्चसम् (lustre of Brahman), there is an injunction that the oblation must be offered to the sun. Cf.: सूर्ये च नं निर्वपेत् ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । In that case the word अग्नये will have to be replaced by the word सूर्याय. This is possible only if he knows that the dative case singular of सूर्य is सूर्याय. Hence the knowledge of ऊह is necessary for the correct performance of Vedic ceremonies. From this one can understand that ऊह helps the यजमान or the sacrificer to reap the desired fruit and the ऋत्विक् or the priest to become happy through the fee he is paid for officiating as priest. Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa seems to think of the latter alone. Cf.

ऊहज्ञस्य हि आर्त्विज्यत्वेन द्रव्यप्राप्तिद्वारा ऐहिकसुखसिद्धिः फलमिति बोध्यम्

आगमः खल्वपि—

ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽव्ययो ज्ञेयश्च । प्रधानं च षडङ्गेषु व्याकरणम् । प्रधाने च कृतो यज्ञः फलवान्भवति ॥

Āgama also [forms a प्रयोजनम् (प्रयोजकम्)].

Vēda with six *aṅgas* shall be studied and understood by a Brāhmaṇa without expecting any reward. Of the six *aṅgas*, grammar is important. Effort directed towards the prominent bears rich fruit.

The word ब्राह्मणेन suggests that the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas and a *kāmya-karma* to others. The word कारण in निष्कारणः means not *cause*, but *fruit*. The six *aṅgas* are शिक्षा (Phonetics), व्याकरणम् (Grammar), छन्दः (Prosody), निरुक्तम् (Vedic interpretation), ज्योतिषम् (Astronomy) and कल्पः (The made-easies for the performance of rituals).

Grammar is said to be important since, without its study, one is not capable of understanding the meaning of sentences.

The word *āgama* has been taken to mean *vēda* and hence the word *prayōjana* has to be interpreted as *prayōjaka*. Since *āgama* means also *study* and it is used in that sense by Mahābhāṣyakāra himself (आगमकालेन I. 1. 1.) and the study of Vyākaraṇa is considered to be a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas, it seems to me to be worthy of consideration whether Mahābhāṣyakāra intends that the study of Vyākaraṇa for its own sake is one of the *prayōjanas*.

लघु—

लघ्वर्थं चाध्येयं व्याकरणम् । ब्राह्मणेनावश्यं शब्दा ज्ञेया इति । न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं लघुनोपायेन शब्दाः शक्या विज्ञातुम् ।

For easy grasp of words is grammar to be studied. Words should necessarily be understood by Brāhmaṇas. There is no easy means of learning words other than grammar.

If the paradigm of one noun is known, the case-forms of similar nouns are also known and hence there is no need to get by heart the forms of all nouns. Similarly if the conjugational forms of one verb is known, those of similar verbs are also known.

असन्देहः—

असन्देहार्थं चाप्यन्येयं व्याकरणम् । याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—स्थूलपृषतीमाग्निवारुणी-
मनङ्वाहीमालमेत इति । तस्यां सन्देहः—स्थूला चासौ पृषती च स्थूलपृषती,
स्थूलानि वा पृषन्ति यस्याः सेयं स्थूलपृषतीति । तां नावैयाकरणः स्वरतोऽथ्यवस्यति—
यदि पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं ततो बहुव्रीहिः, अथ समासान्तोदात्तत्वं ततस्तत्पुरुष इति ॥

For the absence of ambiguity is grammar to be studied. Mantras dealing with sacrifices are read thus :—

Tie to the stake to propitiate *Agni* and *Varuṇa* a cow which is **स्थूलपृषती**. Here is the doubt whether the word **स्थूलपृषती** means 'stout and spotted,' or 'having big spots.' The correct meaning cannot be understood by a non-grammarian from its *svara*. If it has the *udātta* at the usual place of the first member of the compound, it should be taken as *bahuvrīhi* when, it means 'having big spots'; if, on the other hand, it has the *udātta* at the final syllable, it should be taken as *tatpuruṣa* when, it means 'stout and spotted.'

Having dealt with the advantages of the study of grammar in a general way, Mahābhāṣyakāra enumerates them in detail. Kāiyaṭa says :

"Having mentioned the important benefits, he mentions those that are accessory.* Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa explains that they

* मुख्यानि प्रयोजनानि प्रदर्शयितुं दुष्प्रसङ्गाणि प्रदर्शयति

are important because they are intended to get a knowledge of words and their meanings and the others are accessory since they deal with incorrect words and the usage of words in proper places etc.*

इमानि च भूयः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि—तेऽसुराः । दुष्टः शब्दः । यदधीतम् । यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते । अविद्वांसः । विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति । यो वा इमाम् । चत्वारि । उत त्वः । सक्तुमिव । सारम्बतीम् । दशम्यां पुत्रस्य । मुदेवो असि वरुण । इति

These also are the benefits to be accrued by the study of grammar, तेऽसुराः etc.

The expression तेऽसुराः etc., are generally at the commencement of some Vedic texts which are explained in detail below. They are thirteen in number.

तेऽसुराः—

तेऽसुरा हेऽल्यो हेऽल्य इति कुर्वन्तः परावभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न स्लेच्छितवै, नापभाषितवै, स्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः । स्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् । [तेऽसुराः] †

Those *asuras* pronouncing *hēlayaḥ hēlayaḥ* were baffled in their attempt. Hence no *mlēccha* word is to be pronounced by a Brāhmaṇa; (i.e.) no word not sanctioned by grammar is to be pronounced; *mlēccha* means word which is not sanctioned by grammar. In order that we may not become *mlēcchas* (the users of corrupt words), grammar is to be studied.

* तेषां प्रधानत्वं च पदपर्यायशानाधीनत्वेनान्तरात्वात् । वक्ष्यमाणानां च बहिरङ्गशब्दापशब्द-प्रयोगविधिनियेषविषयत्वादानुपपत्तिकत्वं बोध्यम् ।

† ते असुराः indicates that the topic dealing with it is closed. The same method is followed in दुष्टः शब्दः etc.

The expression हेऽलयो हेऽलयः is the incorrect one that is referred to. The mistakes here are according to some, the non-use of *pluta* and *prakṛtibhāva* (i.e.) हेऽलयो हेऽलयः should have been pronounced as हे ३ अलयः हे ३ अलयः. Others think that the correct form is हे हे अलयः *

On considering the use of the word म्लेच्छितवै it appears that the statement

तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः परावभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै ।

is a quotation from some previous work.¹ The expression न म्लेच्छितवै is explained by Mahābhāṣyakāra by न अपभाषितवै. The reason for such an interpretation is said that the word म्लेच्छः is freely used to denote ungrammatical word or expression. The word म्लेच्छाः may also mean 'censured beings.' Bhartṛhari in his Pradīpikā says that तेऽसुराः ... is an *arthavāda* and म्लेच्छा मा भूम means, according to some, मा पराभूम.

दुष्टः शब्दः ।

दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाचजो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥ इति

दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महीत्यर्थेयं व्याकरणम् [दुष्टः शब्दः]

Word that is incorrectly pronounced either from the standpoint of *svara* (accent) or *varṇa* (letter) gives the non-desired meaning and hence is not able to convey the desired

* तत्र केचिदाहुः "हेहेप्रयोगे हेहयोः" इति प्लुते प्रकृतिभावे च कर्तव्ये तदकरणं म्लेच्छन-मिति । पदद्विवचने कार्ये वाक्यद्विवचनं लभं च म्लेच्छनमित्यपरे ।

CF. । हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति वदन्तः परावभूवुः ... तस्मान्न ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेत्

Satapatha III. 2, 1, 23 & 24).

meaning. It serves as speech-thunderbolt and brings out the ruin of the sacrificer as the word **इन्द्रशत्रुः** which was pronounced with a wrong accent. In order that we may not use wrong words, grammar is to be studied.

The allusion referred to is this :—Vṛtra, an asura, wanted to bring forth a son who could kill Indra, his foe. So he performed a sacrifice in which he pronounced the *mantra* **इन्द्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्व** which means 'may you, *Indraśatru* flourish.' Here the word **इन्द्रशत्रुः** is capable of giving two meanings:—the slayer of Indra and one who could be slain by Indra. If it should convey the former meaning, the last syllable is to be accented and if it is the latter, the word **इन्द्र** should be accented in its usual place. Vṛtra wanted only the slayer of Indra. But, while pronouncing the *mantra*, he pronounced the word **इन्द्रशत्रुः** in hot haste by accenting it on the first syllable of the word *Indra*. The result was that he got a son who could be slain by Indra.

This stanza seems to be an adaptation of the following stanza found in the **पाणिनीयशिक्षा** ।

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिय्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाम्बज्जो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

A doubt may arise why the incorrect pronunciation of words should bring out the destruction of the *sacrificer* and not the *officiating priest* though it is the latter who actually mispronounces the word. Since the priest is only paid for it, neither the gain accrued by the correct pronunciation, nor the loss accrued by the incorrect pronunciation is considered to affect him.

The enumeration of **तेऽसुराः** and **दुष्टः शब्दः** is to make the Brāhmaṇas realise that, if they are ignorant of grammar,

they will be disqualified to officiate as priests in sacrifices. If, in spite of their ignorance, they are chosen, they will be instrumental in bringing ruin to the sacrificer who chooses them.

यदधीतम्—

यदधीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्दते ।

अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ॥

तस्मादनर्थकं माधिगीम्नहीत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [यदधीतम्] ।

That which is studied (at the feet of the preceptor) and is often repeated as was taught by him without its meaning being understood does not shine (i.e. is of no practical utility) like dry fuel thrown on ashes. In order that we may not study anything without advantage, the knowledge of grammar is necessary.

From this it is evident that there is no use of studying anything without understanding its sense. Much more is it so with respect to the study of the Vēdas. That Mahābhāṣyakāra cites this only with special reference to the study of the Vēdas is seen from the fact that this stanza with a slight modification forms the supplement, in Nirukta, to the stanza

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलामदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।

योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा । (N. I. 6. 2.)

It means this :—He who studies Vēda without knowing its meaning is evidently a pillar serving as rest for loads ; but, on the other hand, he who understands the meaning gets all kinds of happiness and reaches Heaven after having his sins removed with his knowledge.

The Nirukta reading is यदगृहीतम् instead of यदधीतम्.

यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते—

यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे शब्दान्यथावद् व्यवहारकाले ।
सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र वाम्योगविद् दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ॥

The learned grammarian who uses the right word in the right place gets unbounded success elsewhere, while the other man (the non-grammarian) fares ill by the use of incorrect words.

Mahābhāṣyakāra evokes a discussion on the *subject* of the verb दुष्यति. The पूर्वपक्ष is that वाम्योगविद् which immediately precedes दुष्यति is its subject and the सिद्धान्त is that अवाम्योगविद् is understood before दुष्यति and it alone can form its subject. The discussion runs as follows :—

कः—Who ?

वाम्योगविदेव—Evidently the grammarian !

कुत एतत्—On what authority is this ?

यो हि शब्दान् जानाति अपशब्दानप्यसौ जानाति; यथैव हि शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः एवम् अपशब्दज्ञानेऽपि अधर्मः । अथ वा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति—भूयांसोऽपशब्दाः, अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः, एकैकस्य हि शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः । तद्यथा—गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयो अपभ्रंशाः ॥

For he who knows the correct words knows also incorrect ones. As merit accrues with the knowledge of correct words, demerit also accrues with that of incorrect words. Or, the greater becomes the demerit since the incorrect words are greater in number ; for every correct word is mispronounced in many ways ; for instance the correct word गौः (which denotes cow) is mispronounced in many ways like गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc. (It must be borne in mind that the word गोणी when it means a sack is correct).

अथ योज्याम्योगवित् ? — Then what about the non-grammarian ?

अज्ञानं तस्य शरणम्—Ignorance is his resort.

विषम उपन्यासः । नात्यन्ताय अज्ञानं शरणं भवितुमर्हति । यो ह्यज्ञानम् वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् मुरां वा पिबेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

Illogical is the argument. Ignorance cannot completely serve as a resort. He who murders a Brāhmaṇa, or who drinks liquor without knowing that either brings forth sin is, I think, a sinner.

एवं तर्हि, सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र वाय्योगवित् ; दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ।

(Here it must be understood that he reads it in such a way as to stop after वाय्योगवित् so that it may be taken as the subject of आप्नोति in the previous line).

If so सोऽनन्तम् अपशब्दैः ।

कः ? Who ?

अवाय्योगविदेव—Evidently the non-grammarian.

अथ यो वाय्योगवित् ? Then, what about the grammarian ?

विज्ञानं तस्य शरणम्—Knowledge is his resort.

क पुनरिदं पठितम्—Is there any book where this is said ?

भ्राजा नाम श्लोकाः—The ślōkas named *bhrāja*.

किं च भोः श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम् ? Oh sir, do ślōkas also stand as authority ?

किं चातः ? What if ?

यदि श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम्, अयमपि प्रमाणं भवितुमर्हति—

यदुदुम्बरवर्णानां घटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।

धीतं न गमयेत्त्वर्गं किं तत्कृतुगतं नयेत् ॥ इति

If *ślōkas* also stand as authority, this *ślōka* which means—when jars of red liquor drunk cannot lead to Heaven, how can a drop of the same drink in sacrifices do it?—also may serve as authority.

प्रमत्तगीत एष तत्रभवतः This is the expression of the reverend when he is not in right mood.

यस्तु अप्रमत्तगीतस्तत् प्रमाणम्. [यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते]. That which is said when he is in right mood is an authority.

The sentence क पुनरिदं पठितम्? means क एष यत्र पुनरिदं पठितम्? The *ślōkas* named *bhrāja* are ascribed to *Kātyāyana*. Kāiyāṭa says that, though this verse in question (यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते) is one among *bhrāja ślōkas*, it is still taken to be authority since it agrees in meaning with the Vēdic text 'एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुरभवति.'

He again says that दुष्यति is taken to be the predicate of अवारयोगवित् and not वारयोगवित् on the authority of the maxim प्रकरणात् सामर्थ्यं बलीयः (*Capacity to qualify is stronger than proximity*); here the word प्रकरण means only सन्नधि (*proximity*) (i.e.) the word दुष्यति is capable of being taken only with अवारयोगवित् though the word वारयोगवित् is near it.

From this it is evident that one gets all happiness only when he is capable of using the right word in the right place. This suggests that only such persons will be chosen to officiate as priests. This can be done only with the knowledge of grammar. Hence grammar helps Brāhmaṇas to get fees in the sacrifices and success elsewhere.

अविद्वांसः—

अविद्वांसः प्रत्यमिवादे नान्नो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः ।

कामं तेषु तु विप्रोप्य स्त्रीष्विवायमहं वदेत् ॥

अभिवादे स्त्रीवन्मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [अविद्वांसः]

Those illiterate persons who do not know that *pluti* (the use of three *mātrās*) must be made use of while blessing a man who prostrates, must be prostrated in the same way as women after one returns to his place after some time and be told by him that he is such by name. Grammar is to be studied lest we should be treated like women in *abhivādana*.

From this we learn that knowledge of grammar is needed to keep up one's dignity as a learned Brāhmaṇa.

विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति “प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः कार्याः” इति ।

न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः शक्याः कर्तुम् ।

[विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति]

Chapters dealing with sacrifices read that the *prayāja* mantras should be recited with the proper cases. But for the knowledge of grammar, it is not possible to do.

Prayājās are the subsidiary *hōmas* in the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice. It is a duty enjoined by the Vēdas to be performed by a house-holder in the same way as *sthālipāka* enjoined by the *Smṛtis* to be performed by the same person. Even though the mantras for *prayāja* *hōmas* are completely read, yet he is allowed to perform an *īṣṭi* if the *yajamāna* is attacked of stomach-ache after *ādhāna* or meets with a great disaster within a year, where the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. Hence while performing it, he is to change the mantras in such a way as to suit it.

This is the same as the ऊह mentioned before. Hence it is clear that the second set of *prayōjanas* mentioned is quotation from previous author or authors.

यो वा इमाम्—

यो वा इमां पदशः स्वरशोऽक्षरशश्च वाचं विदधाति, स आर्विजीनो भवति ।
आर्विजीनाः स्याम इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् । यो वा इमाम् ॥

He who is capable of pronouncing the mantras correctly with respect to words, accent and letters is fit to become a sacrificer or to officiate as priest in sacrifices. Grammar is to be studied so that we may be qualified to become priests or to perform sacrifices.

The word आर्विजीनः means a sacrificer if it is split as ऋत्विजमर्हति on the strength of the sūtra यज्ञत्विग्भ्यां घञञौ (P.). It means a priest if it is split as ऋत्विक्कर्म अर्हति on the strength of the Vārttika यज्ञत्विग्भ्यां तत्कर्माह्नीत्युपसङ्ख्यानम्.

This is also more or less the same as mentioned in यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे etc.

चत्वारि—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्या आविवेश ॥ इति

चत्वारि शृङ्गाणि—चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामास्व्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । त्रयो अस्य पादाः—त्रयः कालाः, भूतभविष्यद्भर्तमानाः । द्वे शीर्षे—द्वौ शब्दात्मानौ, नित्यः कार्यश्च । सप्त हस्तासो अस्य—सप्त विभक्तयः । त्रिधा बद्धः, त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्धः, उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति । वृषभो, वर्षणात् । रोरवीति, शब्दं करोति । कुत एतत् ? रौतिः शब्द-कर्मा । महो देवो मर्त्या आविवेशेति—महान् देवः, शब्दः ; मर्त्याः, मरणधर्माणो मनुष्याः ; तान् आविवेश । महता देवेन नः साम्यं यथा स्यात् इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥

The *Vṛṣabha* which has four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands and which is bound in three places cries

that the Great God entered the mortals. The four horns—the four parts of speech—noun, verb, *upasarga* (preposition) and *nipāta*. Its three feet—the three tenses, past, future and present. Two heads—the two kinds of *śabda*, *nitya* (eternal) and *kārya* (non-eternal). Its seven hands—the seven cases. It is bound three-fold—It is bound at three places—chest, neck and head. The word *vr̥ṣabha* is derived from the root *vr̥ṣ* (वृष). The word रोखीति means 'makes noise.' Whence is it? The root रु means to make noise. The Great God entered the mortals—the Great God is *śabda*; the word मर्त्याः literally means mortals and hence men; He entered them. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become one with the Great God.

महो देवः here refers to शब्दब्रह्म. It has already been mentioned that Indian Grammarians recognise four phases of speech-sound, of which परा is considered to be *nitya* and the other three पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा and वैखरी are *kārya*. The word पदजातानि in the Bhāṣya text refers, in the opinion of Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa, to the four phases of speech-sound, since, otherwise च at the end नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताः cannot be appropriate. But from the following reading of Nirukta चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च I think Mahābhāṣyakāra also may have had the same reading. Though *upasargas* are only *nipātas* at a particular setting, yet they have been mentioned following the maxim called गोवलीवर्दन्याय. साम्यम् is interpreted by Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa to refer to सायुज्यम् on the strength of the *Kārika* of Bhartrihari.

अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम् ।

प्राहुर्महान्तमृषमं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ॥

The *Rk* चत्वारि शृङ्गा... is the third *Rk* in the 58th Sūkta of the fourth maṇḍala in R̥gveda. Sāyaṇācārya, in his Bhāṣya,

says that since the presiding deity of this *Rk* is one of five deities, this *Rk* is interpreted in five ways: Cf.

सुक्तस्य अग्निसूर्यादिपञ्चदेवतात्मकत्वात् पञ्चधा अयं मन्त्रो व्याख्येयः । तथापि निरुक्ता^य करीत्या यज्ञात्मकान्तेः सूर्यस्य च प्रकाशकत्वेन तत्परतया व्याख्यायते

The same *Rk* is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta XIII, 1-7. The expression चत्वारि, Mahābhāṣyakāra says, is taken by others to refer to the following *Rk*. This clearly shows that this set of *prayōjanas* was in vogue long before the time of Mahābhāṣyakāra.

अपर आह—

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।

गुहा त्रीणि निहितानि नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ।

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि—चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः । मनस ईषिणो, मनीषिणः । गुहा त्रीणि निहितानि नेङ्गयन्ति, गुहायां त्रीणि निहितानि नेङ्गयन्ति, न चेष्टन्ते, न निमिषन्तीत्यर्थः । तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति । तुरीयं वा एतद्वाचो यन्मनुष्येषु वर्तते चतुर्थमित्यर्थः ॥ चत्वारि ॥

Others say :—

There are four kinds of speech-sound, which are seen by those Brāhmaṇas who have controlled their mind. Three of them are not cognizable since they are inside the body. Men speak out only the fourth.

The four kinds of speech-sound—the four kinds are noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipāta*. They are seen by *manīṣins*—*manīṣins* are those who have controlled their mind.

Three do not exhibit themselves being kept in *guhā*—three are kept in *guhā*—the meaning of नेङ्गयन्ति is, they do not operate (i.e.) exhibit. Men speak out the fourth—that which is among men is the fourth phase of the speech-sound.

The same Rk is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta XIII. 1. 9., where चत्वारि पदानि is explained thus :—

चत्वारि पदानि ओङ्कारो महाव्याहृत्यश्चेत्यादि, नामाख्याते च उपसर्गनिपाताश्च इति वैयाकरणाः, मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिकाः, ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः । etc.

It means this :—

The four padas are, in the opinion of seers, *praṇava* and three *vyāhrtis*; they are, in the opinion of grammarians, noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipāta*; etc.; according to sacrificers they are *mantra*, *kalpa*, *brāhmaṇa* and the fourth that is in vogue; they according to Nāiruktas, are *Rk*, *yajus*, *Sāman* and those that are in vogue. It appears as the 45th Rk in 164th Sūkta of the first Maṇḍala in Rgvēda. Sāyaṇa in his commentary mentions in addition to what has been mentioned in Nirukta,

अपरे मान्त्रिकाः प्रकारान्तरेण प्रतिपादयन्ति परा पश्यन्ती मध्यमा वैखरीति चत्वारि ।

Other *māntrikas* think that the four are (परा, पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा and वैखरी). Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa explains पदजातानि thus :—परापश्यन्ती-मध्यमावैखर्ये नामादीनि च । He seems to have added परापश्यन्ती-मध्यमावैखर्यः since it is said that three of them are not cognizable and since it was recognised by grammarians that, of the four phases of speech-sound, परा, पश्यन्ती and मध्यमा are not cognizable to those other than Yōgins.

उत त्वः—

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुतत्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसृजे जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासाः ॥

अपि खल्वेकः पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम्, अपि खल्वेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम् ; इति अविद्वांसमाह अर्धम् । उतो त्वस्मै, तन्वं विसृजे—तनुं विवृणुते । जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासाः—तद्यथा, जाया पत्ये कामयमाना सुवासाः स्वमात्मानं विवृणुते । एवं वाग् वाग्विदे स्वात्मानं विवृणुते । वाङ्मनो विवृणुयादात्मानम् इत्यभ्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ उत त्वः ॥

One, though he sees *vāk* (speech), does not see her ; one, though he hears her, does not hear her. Thus the first half of the stanza speaks of one who is not learned in grammar. She discloses her body to some one in the same way as a lady opens herself to her husband when she is in clean dress and wants his company. So speech opens herself to the grammarian. In order that *vāk* may open herself to us, grammar is to be studied.

The word उत means 'though' and the word त्वः means 'one.' The expression पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम् means 'though he sees, he does not see speech.' The word उत qualifies पश्यन् and not त्वः. The expression अपि खल्वेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम् means 'though one hears, he does not hear her.' The word तन्वम् is the earlier form of तनुम् (which means body). The word विसृजे means 'discloses.' The expression जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासाः means 'it is like the wife who, being in clean dress and eager to meet her husband, opens herself. The word आत्मानं may here be taken to mean both *mind and body*. (The body and mind of *vāk* is evidently her *meaning*). It is clear that the latter half of the stanza speaks of the learned grammarian.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

The word त्वः in two places and त्वस्मै in the latter half suggest that one in, say, hundred takes to study grammar, one in, say, thousand studies to understand it, and one in, say, ten thousand or so is able to completely master it.

The word सुवासाः suggests, as is stated in Yāska's Nirukta, that she is in her *ṛtukāla*. *Ṛtukāla* is the period of sixteen days beginning with the commencement of her monthly period and it, excluding the first three or four days, is considered to be the period of conception. It deserves to be noted that the injunction ऋतौ उपेयात् (one should meet his wife in *Ṛtukāla*) found in Dharmasūtras is taken to be a *niyama-vidhi* for those who have not given birth to a son; (i.e.) if they do not meet their wives in that period, they will meet with demerit.

This *Rk* "उत त्वः...सुवासाः" is found in the *Rgvēda* as the fourth *Rk* in the 71st sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala. In commenting upon it Sāyaṇācārya explains the following words thus :—

पश्यन्नपि—मनसा पर्यालोचयन्नपि
न ददर्श—दर्शनफलमावाप्तं पश्यति
उशती—सम्भोगं कामयमाना

The same *Rk* is commented upon in Nirukta (I. 6. 3) thus :—

अप्येकः पश्यन्न पश्यति वाचम् । अपि च शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् इत्यविद्वांस-
माहार्थम्—अप्येकस्मै तन्वं विसन्न इति स्मात्मानं विवृणुते ज्ञानं प्रकाशनमर्थस्याहानया
वाचोपमोत्तमया वाचा जायेव पत्ये, कामयमाना ऋतुकालेषु सुवासाः कल्याणवासाः
कामयमाना ऋतुकालेषु । यथा स एनां पश्यति स शृणोत्यर्थज्ञप्रशंसा ॥

सक्तुमिव—

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमकत ।

अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि ॥

सक्तुः सचतेर्दुर्भावो भवति, कसतेर्वा विपरीताद्विकसितो भवति । तितउ परिपवनं भवति—ततवद्वा, तुचवद्वा । धीराः—ध्यानवन्तः । मनसा—प्रज्ञानेन । वाचमकत-वाचमकृत । अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते—अत्र सखायः सन्तः, सख्यानि जानते । कः । य एष दुर्गो मार्गः एकगम्यो वाचिपयः । के पुनस्ते ? वैयाकरणाः । कुत एतत् ? भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि—एषां वाचि भद्रा लक्ष्मीर्निहिता भवति । लक्ष्मी-लक्षणाद्वासनात्परिवृद्धा भवति ॥ सक्तुमिव ॥

Where learned men sift correct words from incorrect ones through knowledge as people the flour of barley meal through sieve, there they, being friends of words or having unblemished knowledge throughout are able to see the true meaning; for the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech.

The word सक्तुः is derived from the root सच् and hence literally means that which can be cleaned only with difficulty. Or it is derived from the root कस, has by metathesis, assumed this form and means 'that which is spread.' The word तितउ means 'sieve' and it is so since it is wide or perforated. The word धीराः means 'learned men.' The word मनसा means 'through knowledge.' The expression वाचमकत means 'made words' (i.e.) sifted correct words from incorrect ones. In the expression अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते the word सन्तः is understood after सखायः. अत्र is lengthened to अत्रा for the sake of metre. Where? (i.e.) to which place does the word अत्र refer? That which is difficult of access and which can be achieved only through speech. Who are they? (i.e.) to whom does the word सखायः refer? Grammarians. Why is

it so? For the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech. The word Lakṣmī is derived from the root *lakṣ* which means to shine and hence she becomes the lord.

This *Rk* is found in the Ṛgvēda as the second *Rk* of 71st sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala and it is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta (IV. 2. 1 & 2). The expression सखायः सख्यानि जानते is interpreted in different ways. Sāyaṇācārya gives two interpretations :—(1) They possessing the knowledge of the *śāstra* are able to understand the contents of the *śāstra* correctly. (2) They being friends, get the fruits to be obtained by the knowledge of speech.

सखायः समानख्यानाः शास्त्रादिविषयज्ञानाः, ते सख्यानि तेषु भवानि ज्ञानानि जानते जानन्ति, यद्वा सखायः वाचा वृद्धसख्याः ... सख्यानि जानन्ति वाक्ययुक्तानभ्युदयान् लभन्ते ॥ (Sāyaṇa).

Durgācārya, the commentator on Nirukta interprets it thus: they having the same knowledge as others are able to gauge the merits of their partners. Cf.

समानग्यानानामेव समानेषु शास्त्रेषु कृतश्रमाणां ... सख्यानि — विज्ञानानि ... इतरतरस्य यो विज्ञानप्रकर्षः, तं जानते ॥

Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa, on the other hand, interprets it thus :—They knowing that everything is Brahman become one with Brahman. Cf.

सखायः समानग्यातयः समानज्ञानाः तच्छब्दे ब्रह्मैकत्वज्ञानवन्तस्तेनैव दृष्टान्तेन सर्वपदार्थेषु ब्रह्मनिरूपितामेदज्ञानवन्तः सख्यानि सायुज्यानि जानते प्राप्नुवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa is of opinion that the *rks*

चत्वारि शृङ्गा..., चत्वारि वाक्यरिमिता पदानि, उत त्वः and सक्तुमिव show that the study of grammar enables one to attain *mōkṣa*.

सारस्वतीम्—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—“आहितानिरपशब्दं प्रयुज्य प्रायश्चितीयां सारस्वतीमिष्टिं निर्वपेदिति” । प्रायश्चितीया मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ सारस्वतीम् ॥

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus :—If a householder performing *agnihōtra* mispronounces a word, he will have to perform an expiatory ceremony (*iṣṭi*) called *sārasvatī iṣṭi*. In order that we may not be put to the necessity of performing expiatory ceremonies, grammar is to be studied.

दशम्यां पुत्रस्य—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—“दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम विदध्याद् घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानूक्रमनरिप्रतिष्ठितम् । तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति । द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यात् तद्धितम्” इति । न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं कृतस्तद्धिता वा शक्या विज्ञातुम् ॥ दशम्यां पुत्रस्य ॥

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus :—

On the day following the tenth from the birth of a son*, a name should be given to him. The name should have for its initial a voiced letter, should have the semi-vowels in the middle, should not have a *vrddhi* letter as the first of its vowels, should have been current within three generations and should not be one very popular among his enemies' families. Only such a name enables him to have long life, success in life etc. It should contain two or four letters, should be made of a stem and a primary suffix and not a secondary suffix. Without the knowledge of grammar one does not know whether a suffix is primary or secondary. A

* This is the meaning given by the Mahābhāṣyakāra to the expression दशम्यां पुत्रस्य found in Dharmasāstras.

study of Dharmasūtras enables one to understand that the expression **द्वयक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा** is **उपलक्षण** and should be taken to mean even number of letters.

It should be noted here that the names of men should contain even number of letters and those of women should contain odd number of letters. Since Mahābhāṣyakāra repeats the opinion of Dharmasūtrakāras that a word should not have its first vowel a *vrddhi* letter, is it possible to assume that the names like **रामः, नारायणः** were not given to men in his time or before him?

मुदेवो असि—

मुदेवो असि वरुण यस्य ते सप्त सिन्धवः ।

अनु क्षरन्ति काकुदं सूर्यं सुषिरामिव ॥

* मुदेवो असि, वरुण, सत्यदेवोऽसि । यस्य ते, सप्त सिन्धवः, सप्त विभक्तयः अनुक्षरन्ति काकुदम् । काकुदं तालु—काकुर्जिह्वा, सा अस्मिन्नुद्यत इति काकुदम् । सूर्यं सुषिरामिव । तद्यथा शोभनामूर्तिं सुषिरामनिरन्तः प्रविश्य दहति, एवं ते सप्त सिन्धवः सप्त विभक्तयः ताल्वनुक्षरन्ति । तेनासि सत्यदेवः । † सत्यदेवाः स्यामेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ मुदेवो असि ॥

Oh *Varuṇa*! you are a true God since the seven oceans (of cases) spirt out of your palate like fire through the holes from within a perforated iron image.

मुदेवो असि means **सत्यदेवोऽसि** । Your seven oceans are the seven cases. The word **काकुदम्** means palate. The word **काकुः** means tongue. Since the tongue acts upon the palate,

† सत्यदेवः स्याम् is another reading. Considering **म्लेच्छा मा भूम, दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ताहि ... सत्यदेवाः स्याम** is the better reading.

it is called *काकुदम्*. Just as fire from within a perforated well-made iron image spirts out, so also the seven case-oceans spirt out of your palate. Hence you are *satyadēva*. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become *satya-dēvas*.

This *Rk* is the 12th *Rk* of the 58th *sūkta* of the eighth *Maṇḍala* in *R̥gvēda*. *Sāyaṇācārya* in his commentary takes the word *सिन्धवः* to mean rivers. The same *Rk* is commented upon in *Nirukta* V. 4-9.

किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाविजिगांसमानेभ्यः प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते, न पुनरन्य-
दपि किञ्चित् ? ओम् इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति ॥

Why is the enumeration of benefits accruing from the study of *Vyākaraṇa* alone made and not from that of any other (like the study of the *Vēdas* etc.)? They say 'ōm' and begin to repeat chapter by chapter the *Vēdic* words commencing from *शम्*.

पुरा कल्प एतदसीत्—संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरणं स्माधीयते। तेभ्यस्त-
त्तत्स्थानकरणनादानुप्रदानज्ञेभ्यो वैदिकाः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते । तदवत्वे न तथा ।
वेदमधीत्य त्वरिता वक्तारो भवन्ति—वेदान्तो वैदिकाः शब्दाः[†] सिद्धाः, लोकाच्च लौकिकाः,
अनर्थकं व्याकरणमिति । तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपलबुद्धिभ्योऽप्येतृभ्यः सुहृद् भूत्वा आचार्ये
इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे इमानि प्रयोजनान्यथेयं व्याकरणमिति ॥

* *Annambhaṭṭa* in his *udiyotana* says that the correct reading is *वृत्तान्तम्* and it governs *पठन्ति* so that it means *thoroughly* (i.e.) in such a way that they can be pronounced without another's help. Cf.

वृत्तान्तमिति क्त्वाविशेषणम्, स्वार्थोच्चारणश्रमं यथा भवति तथा पठन्तीत्यर्थः । एतेन 'वृत्तान्तं शमित्येवमादीन्' इति भाष्यपाठः प्रामाणिकः, 'वृत्तान्तशः...' इति शसन्तपाठः प्रामादिक इति ज्ञेयम्.

Bhartṛhari in his *Pradīpikā* seems to have preferred *वृत्तान्ततः* to *वृत्तान्तशः* Cf. तत्राद्यादित्वात्तसिः... अन्येषां वृत्तान्तशः इति पाठः and takes that *वृत्तान्त* means *प्रपाठक*.

† The word *शब्दाः* is omitted in some editions.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

This was in the old *Kalpa* that the Brāhmaṇas studied grammar after their *upanayana*. The Vēdas were then taught to them who had a knowledge of the place of production and the effort, internal and external, of sounds. But now it is not so. After studying the Vēdas, they hasten to become teachers thinking that, since they know Vēdic words from the study of the Vēdas and the *lāukika* words from their contact with the world, the study of grammar is unnecessary. The Ācārya (Mahābhāṣyakāra) out of affection towards such scholars with wrong notions, narrates this portion containing the benefits accruing from the study and hence the need of the study of Grammar.

उक्तः शब्दः । स्वरूपमप्युक्तम् । प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि ॥

(The classification of) word has been said; its definition has been given and the benefits have been narrated.

V

शब्दानुशासनमिदानीं कर्तव्यम् । तत्कथं कर्तव्यम्, किं शब्दोपदेशः कर्तव्यः, आहोस्वित् अपशब्दोपदेशः, आहोस्वित् उभयोपदेशः इति !

S'abdānuśāsana is now to be expounded. How should it be done? Is a list of correct words to be given, or a list of incorrect words; or both?

अन्यतरोपदेशेन कृतं स्यात् । तद्यथा मध्यनियमेन अमध्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते—
“पञ्च पञ्चनखा मध्याः^६” इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् अतोऽन्ये अमध्या इति । अमध्य-
प्रतिषेधेन वा मध्यनियमः ; तद्यथा “अमध्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः, अमध्यो ग्राम्यसूकरः”
इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् ‘आरण्यो मध्यः’ इति । एवमिहापि—यदि तावच्छब्दोपदेशः

Cf. मध्याः श्राविदगोधाशशशल्यककच्छपलङ्गाः बृहगवर्जाः पञ्चनखाः (Bōdh. Dhārma. 1—5. 131). and (Mahābhārata. s'ānti. 141, 70).

क्रियते, गौरियेतस्मिन्नुपदिष्टे, गम्यत एतद्गान्वाद्योऽपशब्दाः इति । अथाप्यपशब्दोपदेशः क्रियते, गान्वादिषु उपदिष्टेषु, गम्यत एतद् 'गौरित्येष शब्दः' इति ॥

It is done by *either* method. From the injunction restricting the eatables, the non-eatables are inferred—when the injunction "Eat five five-clawed animals" is pronounced, it is inferred that all but those five animals are non-eatable. Similarly from the injunction restraining the non-eatables, the eatables are inferred. When the injunction 'Do not eat the domestic cock and the domestic pig' is pronounced, it is inferred that the wild cock and boar may be eaten. Similar is the case here also ; if the list of correct words like गौः is given, it is inferred that गावी etc., are incorrect and if, on the other hand, the list of incorrect words like गावी etc., is given, it may be inferred that गौः etc., are correct words.

NOTE 1. पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः—Is this अपूर्वविधिः, नियमविधिः or परिसङ्ख्याविधिः ? Since there is always a craving for every one to eat anything and hence even without this injunction one may eat the flesh of the five five-clawed animals, it is not अपूर्वविधिः like व्रीहीन् श्रोक्षति.

Cf. Kāiṣaṭa's statement न त्वयं विधिः, अप्राप्तेरभावान्.

It may be taken as परिसङ्ख्याविधिः like इमामगृणन् रशनामृतस्य इत्यश्वामिधानीमादत्ते, since by this injunction one is prevented from tasting the flesh of animals other than these five. Still Mahābhāṣyakāra takes it to be a नियमविधिः since it also wards off one from doing what is not mentioned there.

Cf. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

पाक्षिकाप्राप्तिकाप्राप्तांशपरिपूरणफलो नियमः । अन्यनिवृत्तिफलं च परिसङ्ख्येति चेन्न । नियमेऽप्यप्राप्तांशपरिपूरणरूपफलबोधनद्वारा अर्थादन्यनिवृत्तेः सत्त्वेन अमेदमाश्रित्योक्तेः ॥

NOTE 2. From Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

ये तु पञ्चपदस्य तदतिरिक्ते लक्षणा, भक्ष्यपदस्य च अभक्ष्ये सा

it is clear that some scholars took पञ्च to mean 'other than five' and भक्ष्याः to mean अभक्ष्याः; Nāgōjibhaṭṭa refutes them. Among many reasons cited in support of his view, the most important is the statement of Mahābhāṣyakāra himself

भक्ष्यनियमेन अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ? लघुत्वात् शब्दोपदेशः—लघीयान् शब्दोपदेशः ; गरीयान् अपशब्दोपदेशः ; एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः, तद्यथा—गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः । इष्टान्वाख्यानं खल्वपि भवति ।

Which is better? The enumeration of the correct words (is better) since it is easier—The enumeration of correct words is easier and that of incorrect words is longer ; for every correct word, there are many corrupt forms. For instance the corruptions of the word गौः are गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc. We also have (another advantage of) the direct enumeration of the words that we require.

NOTE 3. The second reason given above suggests that the list of corrupt forms cannot enable us to understand the correct form of a word.

अथैतस्मिन् शब्दोपदेशे सति किं शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः कर्तव्यः, गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मणः इत्येवमादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः ? नेत्याह, अनभ्युपाय एष शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः । एवं हि श्रूयते—'बृहस्पति-
रिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं^{१०} प्रोवाच, नान्तं जगाम' । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्च अध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अध्ययनकालः, न चान्तं जगाम । किं पुनरख्ये ? यः सर्वथा चिरं जीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति ; चतुर्भिश्च प्रकौरिर्विद्या उप-

^{१०} शब्दपारायणं नाम ग्रन्थः (Pradīpikā). शब्दपारायणशब्दः...शस्त्रविशेषे (Pradīpa)

युक्ता भवति आगमकालेन, स्वाध्यायकालेन, प्रवचनकालेन, व्यवहारकालेन इति । तत्र च अस्य आगमकालेनैव आयुः कृत्स्नं* पर्युपयुक्तं स्यात् । तस्मात् अनभ्युपायः शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः ॥

When it has thus been decided that the list of correct words is to be given, there arises the question whether an inventory of all available correct words should be taken. Are we to enumerate words like गौः, अश्वः, पुत्र्यः, हस्ती, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मणः etc.? 'No' says he, 'for such a list is not an easy means to learn correct words.' Thus runs a story in scriptures—Brhaspati (the preceptor of the gods) taught Indra the work called *Śabdaparāyaṇa* containing all available correct words for thousand divine years, but could not exhaust it; Brhaspati is the teacher, Indra is the student, the period of instruction is thousand divine years and still it was not possible to come to an end. When such is the case, how is it possible now? He who, after all, lives longest, lives hundred summers; *Vidyā* is used in four ways in a man's life-time; it is learnt at the feet of the guru, it is revised, it is taught to a student and it is made use of in practical life (as in sacrifices etc.). If one attempts to learn at the feet of a guru the list of all correct words, his whole life-time will be used only in learning. Hence *pratipadapātha* is not an easy means to get at the knowledge of correct words.

कथं तर्हि इमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः ? किञ्चित् सामान्यविशेषवद्भ्रमं प्रवर्त्यम्, येन अल्पेन यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दद्वयान् प्रतिपद्येरन् ॥

How then are the correct words to be learnt? Some work formulating general and special rules should be written

* The word कृत्स्नम् is not found in some editions.

so that people can with a little effort learn the vast ocean of words.

किं पुनस्तत् ? उत्सर्गापवादौ—कश्चिदुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, कश्चिदपवादः । कथं-
जातीयकः पुनरुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः कथंजातीयकोऽपवादः ? सामान्येनोत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, तद्यथा
'कर्मण्यण्' ; तस्य विशेषेणापवादः, तद्यथा 'आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः' ॥

What is it ? General rules and exceptions : some general rule is to be formulated and some exception. How is the general rule to be framed and how the exception ? General rule which is to apply to things in general, like कर्मण्यण् is to be read and so are exceptions to apply to some special things among them like आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः

NOTE. The sūtra कर्मण्यण् means that, if in a compound the verb is preceded by the object which qualifies it, the suffix अण् follows the verb ; आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः means that, if the verb mentioned above ends in आ and is not preceded by a preposition, it takes the suffix क.

VI

Having thus decided that Grammar formulating general rules and exceptions is necessary to enable one to understand correct words, Mahābhāṣyakāra discusses briefly whether the meaning of words is जाति (genus) or व्यक्ति (species) and whether the words are nitya or kārya.

किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थः, आहोस्वित् द्रव्यम् ? उभयमित्याह । कथं ज्ञायते ?
उभयथा व्याचारेण सूत्राणि पठितानि । आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा 'जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्
बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम्' इत्युच्यते । द्रव्यं पदार्थं मत्वा 'सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ'
इत्येकशेष आरभ्यते ॥

Does a word connote genus or species ? 'Both' says he. How is it ? For, sūtras conceding both the views are written

by the *Ācārya* (Pāṇini). The sūtra 'जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्...' is read on the idea that the connotation of the word is *genus* and the sūtra 'सरूपाणाम्...' is read on the idea that it is *individuality*.

NOTE. It is worth noting that *genus* cannot exist without *vyakti* and the latter cannot without the former. Still there are two classes of schools, one holding that word connotes only *genus* and *vyakti* comes along with it, and the other holding that word connotes only *vyakti* since the former cannot exist away from the latter. But the *Ācārya* Pāṇini clearly shows in his work that he holds both the views, one in one context and the other in another.

किं पुनर्नित्यः शब्दः, आहोस्विकार्यः ? सङ्ग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम्—
नित्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ता दोषाः, प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष निर्णयः
—यदेव* नित्यः अथापि कार्यः, उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम् इति ॥

Is *śabda nitya* or *kārya*? This was examined in detail in the work *Saṅgraha* whether *śabda* is eternal or non-eternal. Merits and demerits on both sides were mentioned. This is the conclusion arrived at there, that, irrespective of *śabda* being *nitya* or *kārya*, grammar is to be written.

NOTE. *Saṅgraha* is a work written by Vyāḍi in 100,000 verses. It is unfortunate that the work is almost lost. Mahābhāṣyakāra has already suggested that, if *śabda* refers to *sphōṭa*, it is *nitya* and that, if it refers to *dhvani*—the sound that is produced by the vocal organs—it is *kārya*.

* एवम् is another reading.

Cf. येनोच्चारितेन सास्त्रालङ्गूलककुदसुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः ,
अथवा प्रतीतिपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्दः ॥

VII

Having now decided that व्याकरणम् should be written, Mahābhāṣyakāra may have dealt with the topic—the meaning of व्याकरणम्. Without doing it, he deals with the purpose served by व्याकरण. The reason for doing so is that he wants to observe in the discussion of topics, the order followed by the *Vārttikakāra*, since his *Bhāṣya* is an elaborate commentary on not only Pāṇini's sūtras but also on Kātyāyana's vārttikas.

कथं पुनरिदं भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य लक्षणं प्रवृत्तम्*

How has the Ācārya Pāṇini proceeded in his work ?

This serves as an introduction to the first *vārttika* which runs as follows :—

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः, यथा
लौकिकवैदिकेषु ॥

When word, its meaning and their relation (or word and the relation with its meaning) are learnt to be *nitya* from the world and word is used only in such meanings as are current there, the śāstra enjoins (the use of correct words) for the sake of *dharma* as in the case of incidents, *lāukika* and *vaidika*.

* Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti translates this in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. I, 1925 thus :—Why, again, the grammatical treatise of the venerable Pāṇini has been made? (If words are held to be eternal, what is the use of grammar?) Since the previous sentence is उभयथापि लक्षणे प्रवर्त्यम्, the legitimate question that follows is, what doctrine Pāṇini holds in his work. This is clear from Kaiyaṣa's statement किमात्रार्थ एव स्रष्टा शब्दार्थसम्बन्धानाम् अथ स्मर्ता इति प्रश्नः

Here Mahābhāṣyakāra deals in detail with the meanings of (1) सिद्धे, (2) अर्थः and (3) धर्मः and elucidates the expressions लोकतः and लौकिकवैदिकेषु and takes लोकतः twice, once along with शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे and once with अर्थप्रयुक्ते.

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे—

सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति

Here Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests that the *vigraha* of शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे is शब्दश्च अर्थश्च सम्बन्धश्च एतेषां समाहारः, शब्दार्थसम्बन्धम्, तस्मिन् ।

अथ सिद्धशब्दस्य कः पदार्थः ? नित्यपर्यायवाची सिद्धशब्दः । कथं ज्ञायते ? यत्कूटस्थेषु अविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते ; तद्यथा, सिद्धा द्यौः, सिद्धा पृथिवी, सिद्धमाकाशम् इति ।

Now what is the meaning of the word सिद्ध ? It is the synonym of the word *nitya*. How is it so ? Since it is used along with objects which do not move and which do not change. Ex. सिद्धा द्यौः (the Heaven is *nitya*), सिद्धा पृथिवी (the earth is *nitya*) and सिद्धमाकाशम् (the sky is *nitya*).

NOTE. The expressions सिद्धा द्यौः etc., are not based upon the conception that द्यौः, पृथिवी etc., are eternal, but upon the conception that they are relatively permanent.*

Mahābhāṣyakāra then quotes instances where the word सिद्ध means अनित्य.

ननु च भोः कार्येष्वपि वर्तते ; तद्यथा—सिद्ध ओदनः, सिद्धः सूपः, सिद्धा यवागृः इति । यावता कार्येष्वपि वर्तते, तत्र कुत एतन्नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणम्, न पुनः

* Cf. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

भाष्ये द्यौपृथिव्यादपि व्यावहारिकनित्यत्वाभिप्रायेण दृष्टान्तितम्, आकाशस्यापि व्यावहारिकनित्यत्वमेवात्राचार्यमिति ॥

कार्ये यः सिद्धशब्द इति ॥ सङ्ग्रहे तावत् कार्यप्रतिद्वन्दिभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्याय-
वाचिनो ग्रहणमिति ; इहापि तदेव ॥

Oh Sir, the word सिद्ध is used also in connection with transi-
ent objects ; Ex. सिद्ध भोजनः (Food is ready) ; सिद्धः सूपः (Dhal
is ready) : सिद्धा यवागुः (the yavāgū preparation is ready).
Since the word is used in connection with transient objects
also, how can it be said that it means *nitya* and not *kārya*?
Since the word is used in the Saṅgraha as antonym to *kārya*,
we infer that it means *nitya* there ; so also here.

Since the word is used in Saṅgraha as an antonym to
kārya, it is but right that it means *nitya* there. Since there
is no criterion here to decide its meaning one way or the
other, Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests another way to come to
the same conclusion.

अथवा सन्त्येकपदान्यपि अवधारणानि । तद्यथा—अव्यक्षो वायुमक्ष इति, अप
एव भक्षयति, वायुमेव भक्षयति इति गम्यते ; एवमिहापि सिद्ध एव, न साध्य इति ॥

Or even single words have the restrictive sense. Ex. अव्यक्षः
and वायुमक्षः. They respectively mean, 'one who feeds himself
only on water' and 'one who feeds himself *only* on air.'
Similarly the word सिद्ध here means *only* सिद्ध and not *sādhya*.

The defect that underlies this explanation is this. The
words अव्यक्षः and वायुमक्षः are compound words, while the
word सिद्ध is a single word. In splitting the compound the
word एव which denotes restriction may be brought in. Such
is not the case with single words. Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra
tries to explain it thus.

अथवा पूर्वपदलोपोऽन द्रष्टव्यः—अत्यन्तसिद्धः सिद्ध इति ; तद्यथा देवदत्तो
दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामा इति ॥

Or it may be considered that a word which preceded सिद्ध has been dropped, its original form being अत्यन्तसिद्ध in the same way as दत्तः is the shortened form of देवदत्तः ; and भामा of सत्यभामा.

The defect that underlies this explanation is this. In the case of the words दत्तः and भामा standing respectively for देवदत्तः and सत्यभामा, it should be noted that देवदत्तः and सत्यभामा are mentioned at the first instance and only later on for the sake of brevity दत्तः and भामा are used.⁶ The same is not the case here. Besides there is nothing to suggest that the word सिद्ध is used here to denote अत्यन्तसिद्ध.

Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests the final solution thus :—

अथवा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति, नित्यपर्याय-
वाचिनो ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

If so, we explain that the word सिद्ध means नित्य since a text cannot be thrown away on the ground that it is not clear. Its correct sense should be understood from the commentaries or the interpretation given by the commentators.

किं पुनरनेन वर्णने ? किं न महता कण्ठेन नित्यशब्द एवोपात्तः, यस्मि-
न्नुपादीयमानेऽसन्देहः स्यात् ?

Why should he give room for this kind of interpretation ? Why should he not, with his open mouth, have given expression to the word *nitya*, when there would be no ambiguity ?

* Cf. तनु अनुच्चारितस्य देवदत्तशब्दस्य पाणिनिरन्वो वा कश्चित् समर्थो लोपं कर्तुम्
(Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā.)

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

मङ्गलार्थम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गल्यदीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते, वीरपुरुषाणि* च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि† च, अध्येतारश्च सिद्धार्था यथा स्युः इति ॥

For the sake of *maṅgala* (auspiciousness). The *Ācārya* (Kātyāyana), eager of reaping the fruit of *maṅgala* said *सिद्ध* for the sake of *maṅgala* at the commencement of his great work. The works which start with *maṅgala* shine well and enable the scholars to become heroic and long-lived and to have their objects fully accomplished.

NOTE :—It deserves notice that the appellation आचार्य is applied by Patañjali not only to Pāṇini but also to Kātyāyana.

Then the author begins to show that even if the word *nitya* is used instead of *siddha*, it is not free from ambiguity—

अयं खलु नित्यशब्दः नावश्यं कृटस्थेष्वविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते । किं तर्हि? आभीक्ष्ण्येऽपि वर्तते, तद्यथा नित्यप्रहसितो नित्यप्रजल्पितः‡ इति । यावता आभीक्ष्ण्येऽपि वर्तते तत्राप्यनैनैवार्थः स्यात्, 'व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम्' इति । पश्यति तु आचार्यो मङ्गलार्थश्चैव सिद्धशब्द आदितः प्रयुक्तो भविष्यति, शक्यामि चैनं नित्य-पर्यायवाचिनं॑ वर्णयितुमिति । अतः सिद्धशब्द एवोपातो न नित्यशब्दः ।

Even this word *nitya* does not invariably connote eternity. What then? It is used to connote repetition also. Ex. *नित्य-प्रहसितः* (One who ever laughs) and *नित्यप्रजल्पितः* (one who ever prattles). Since it connotes repetition also, it should be

* वीरपुरुषाणि is another reading

† आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि is another reading.

‡ नित्यप्रजल्पितः is another reading.

॑ नित्यपर्यायम् is another reading.

free from ambiguity only by the interpretation of the commentators. The *Ācārya* thinks that the word *siddha* is used at the commencement for the sake of *maṅgala* and I am able to interpret that it means *nitya*. Hence is the use of the word *siddha* and not *nitya*.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word सिद्धे, the author begins to deal with the statement शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे and discusses whether the word *artha* denotes *genus* or *individuality*.

अथ कं पुनः पदार्थं मत्वा एष विग्रहः क्रियते 'सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे च' इति ? आकृतिमित्याह । कुत एतत् ? आकृतिर्हि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् ।

With what meaning (genus or individuality) in mind is the compound split thus शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे ? 'Akṛti' (genus), says he. Why so ? For *ākṛti* is *nityā* and *dravya* is *anitya*.

अथ द्रव्ये पदार्थं कथं विग्रहः कर्तव्यः ? सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थसम्बन्धे च इति । नित्यो हि अथवतामर्थैरमिसम्बन्धः ॥

If *dravya* is *padārtha*, how is the compound split ? It is split thus शब्दे अर्थसम्बन्धे ; for, the relation of the word to its meaning is *nitya*, (though the meaning in the form of *dravya* is *anitya*).

The author then takes the word *ākṛti* to connote shape and in that case begins to deal with the nature of the splitting of the compound—

अथवा द्रव्य एव पदार्थं एष विग्रहो न्याय्यः—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ; द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या । कथं ज्ञायते ? एवं हि दृश्यते लोके मृत् कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्ता पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य घटिकाः क्रियन्ते, घटिकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कुण्डिकाः क्रियन्ते ; तथा सुवर्णं कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्तं पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य रुचकाः

क्रियन्ते, रूचकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कटकाः क्रियन्ते, कटकाकृतिमुपमृद्य स्वस्तिकाः क्रियन्ते । पुनरावृत्तः सुवर्णपिण्डः पुनरपरयाकृत्या युक्तः खदिराक्षरसवर्णे कुण्डले भवतः । आकृतिरन्या चान्या च भवति, द्रव्यं पुनस्तदेव । आकृत्युपमर्देन द्रव्यमेवावशिष्यते ॥

Or the compound is split thus—शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे even when the meaning of the word is *dravya*; for the *dravya* always remains the same, while the shape is changing. How is it? Thus it is seen in the world—Mud in one shape becomes a clod; it is broken and it is converted into small pots; that shape is destroyed and the same mud is made into jars. So also is gold. In one shape it is a ball; it is destroyed and the gold is converted into rings; they are destroyed and it is made into bracelets; that shape is destroyed and it is made into a kind of amulets; that being destroyed, it is made into ear-rings as bright as red-hot charcoal of ebony wood. The shape changes from one to another, but the material remains the same. Though the shape is destroyed, the material remains.

आकृतावपि पदार्थ एव विग्रहो न्याय्यः—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति । ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृतिरनित्या' इति । नैतदस्ति । नित्या आकृतिः । कथम् ? न कचिदुपरतेति कृत्वा सर्वत्रोपरता भवति, द्रव्यान्तरस्था तु उपलभ्यते ॥

Even accepting *ākṛti* to be *padārtha*, it is but proper to split the compound thus शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे. Has it not been said that *ākṛti* is *anityā*? No, it is *nityā*. How? Though it is not seen at one place, it does not fail to exist in all places; it is found in other objects (of the same genus).

NOTE. Here it should be borne in mind that *ākṛti* when it is considered to be *nityā*, means *genus* and when it is considered to be *anityā*, it means *shape*.

अथवा नेदमेव नित्यलक्षणम्—ध्रुवं कूटस्थम् अविचालि अनपायोपजनविकारि अनुत्पत्त्यवृद्धयव्ययोगि यत् तल्लित्यमिति । तदपि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते । किं पुनस्तत्त्वम् ? तद्भावस्तत्त्वम् । आकृतावपि तत्त्वं न विहन्यते ।

Or this is not the definition of *nitya* :—that which is free from संसर्गानित्यता, परिणामानित्यता and प्रध्वंसानित्यता^१; but that from which its inherent property is never severed is *nitya*. What is *tattva*? *It-ness* is *tattva*. The *tattva* is never separated from *ākṛti*.

NOTE. संसर्गानित्यता is seen from the apparent red-crystal in the proximity of red-flower. The relation of redness and crystal is *anitya*, since it disappears at the disappearance of the red flower. परिणामानित्यता is seen in the process of a fruit becoming a ripe fruit. The relation with its colour when it is not ripe disappears when it becomes ripe and hence the colour is *anitya*. प्रध्वंसानित्यता is complete destruction.

* Cf. ध्रुवं कूटस्थमिति संसर्गानित्यता परिहृता ; अविचालीति परिणामानित्यता ; अनपायेत्यादिना प्रध्वंसानित्यता (Pradīpa).

ध्रुवं = स्वाभाविकस्वरूपान्तरसंसर्गरहितम् ; कूटस्थम् = आगन्तुकेन संसर्गरहितम् ; अविचालि = अपरिणामि । अपायोपजनविकाररहितमित्यस्यैव व्याख्यानम्—अनुत्पत्त्यवृद्धयव्ययोगीति ; षड्भावविकारराहित्यं बनिन भाष्येणोच्यते—तत्र, अपायः = नाशः, उपजनः = सत्तासम्बन्धोऽस्तित्वम्, विकारः = परिणामः, उत्पत्तिवृद्धौ प्रसिद्धे, व्ययः = अपक्षयः इति (Uddyōtana).

ध्रुवपदस्यैव व्याख्यानं कूटस्थमिति ; रूपान्तरापत्तिर्विचालः, यथा पयसो दध्यादिरूपता, अनेन परिणामानित्यता परास्ता ; उत्पत्तेः सत्तापर्यन्तत्वात् अनुत्पत्तीत्यनेन जन्मसत्तारूपौ भावविकारौ तिरस्त्रौ ; अवृद्धीत्यनेन तृतीयो वृद्धिलक्षणः ; अनुपजनेति चतुर्थः परिणामः ; अनपायेति पक्षमः अपक्षयः ; अव्ययेति षष्ठो विनाशः (Uddyōta).

It deserves to be noted that Nāgōjibhaṭṭa has not given the meaning of अविचालि ; both he and Annambhaṭṭa differ in the meanings of the words अपाय, उपजन and व्यय.

उत्पत्तिः = Birth ; उपजनः = Existence or stability ; वृद्धिः = Growth ; विकारः = Transformation ; व्ययः = Reduction ; अपायः = Destruction.

अथवा किं न एतेन इदं नित्यं इदम् अनित्यम् इति । यन्नित्यं तं पदार्थं मत्वेऽपि विग्रहः कियते—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ॥

Or what is the use of this discussion that one is *nitya* and the other *anitya*? When we take the meaning to be *nitya*, we split the compound thus : शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे.

कथं पुनर्जायते सिद्धः शब्दोऽर्थः सम्बन्धश्चेति ? 'लोकतः' । यल्लोके अर्थमर्थ-मुपादाय शब्दान्प्रयुज्जते, तेषां निर्वृत्तौ बलं कुर्वन्ति । ये पुनः कार्या भावाः निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यत्रः क्रियते, तद्यथा घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु घटं, कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान् प्रयुयुस्माणां वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वा आह कुरु शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्ये इति । तावत्वेव अर्थमुपादाय शब्दान् प्रयुज्जते ।

How is it understood that *śabda*, *artha* and *sambandha* are *nitya*? From the world. For words are used to denote objects and no effort is made to coin them. Effort is taken in creating such things as are *kārya*. For instance he who has the use of a pot goes to the potter's house and says, 'Make a pot; I have to use it.' But no one similarly goes to the house of a grammarian and says, 'Coin words; I shall make use of them.' He thinks of the object and makes use of words denoting them.

यदि तर्हि लोक एषु^{*} प्रमाणम्, किं शास्त्रेण कियते ? 'लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्द-प्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः' । लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः कियते । किमिदं धर्मनियम इति ? धर्माय नियमो धर्मनियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः धर्मनियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः धर्मनियमः ॥

If then the world is the authority for the use of words, what purpose is served by the *Vyākaraṇa śāstra*? When words

* एषु शब्देषु is another reading.

are used in the sense in which each is current in the world, injunction to use the correct word is made by the śāstra for the sake of *dharma*. *Dharma-niyama*, what does it mean? It means *niyama* for *dharma*, *niyama* for the sake of *dharma* and *niyama* having for its fruit *dharma*.

NOTE. It deserves to be noted that Kāiyaṭa clearly says that the compound *dharma-niyamaḥ* should be split only as *dharmaṣya niyamaḥ*. If so, Mahābhāṣyakāra does not mention how the compound is split, but brings out the sense of the compound. All the three ways mentioned there—धर्माय नियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः and धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः may be taken to mean the same. The only difference is that the second is more explanatory than the first and the third is more explanatory than the second. What is, then, the meaning of *dharma*? It may be interpreted in three ways:

1. नित्यकर्म Cf. निष्कारणो धर्मः पटङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयः ज्ञेयश्च (M. B. I. 1, 1).
2. यज्ञकर्म Cf. याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमः । (M. B. I. 1, 1).
3. अपूर्वम् Cf. ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेतश्चाधर्मः । (M. B. I. 1, 1).

Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says (as the opinion of some) that in धर्माय नियमः धर्म has the first meaning, in धर्मार्थो वा नियमः it has the second meaning and in धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः it has the third meaning. But it is better to take that it has all the three meanings in each.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु । प्रियतद्विता दाक्षिणात्याः, यथा लोके वेदे चेति प्रयोक्तव्ये यथा लौकिकवैदिकेष्विति प्रयुज्यते । अथवा युक्त एवान्न तद्वितार्थः, यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत् अमक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः, अमक्ष्यो ग्राम्यसूकरः*

* Cf. Bādhayana Dharmasūtra I, 12, 1.

इत्युच्यते । भक्ष्यं च नाम क्षुत्प्रतिपातार्थमुपादीयते, शक्यं चानेन श्रमांसादिभिरपि क्षुत्प्रतिहन्तुम्, तत्र नियमः क्रियते—इदं भक्ष्यम् इदम् अभक्ष्यम् इति । तथा खेदात् स्त्रीषु प्रवृत्तिर्भवति, समानश्च खेदविगमो गम्यायां च अगम्यायां च, तत्र नियमः क्रियते इयं गम्या इयम् अगम्या इति ॥

As in *laukika* and *vaidika* incidents†. The Southerners are fond of using words with *taddhita* suffixes (without special significance). They, instead of using *लोके* and *वेदे*, use *लौकिक-वैदिकेषु*. Or it is but proper that the *taddhita* suffix has a meaning. The term *लौकिकवैदिकेषु* may be taken to mean *लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु*. There is with reference to the worldly incident, the saying that the domestic cock should not be eaten nor the domestic pig; food is taken to remove hunger; it may be removed by any one even with dogs' meat; there is the restriction made that one is eatable and the other is non-eatable. Similarly man meets woman to satisfy his sexual passion; it may be had in meeting any woman deserving or non-deserving; there is the restriction made that one is meet-able and the other is non-meet-able.

NOTE. The mention of the word *दक्षिणान्य* suggests that Kātyāyana was a Southerner, while both the *Sūtrakāra* and the *Bhāṣyakāra* were Northerners. Some think that there is a little sneer here.

वेदे स्वल्पि—पयोक्तो ब्राह्मणः, यवागृक्तो राजन्यः, आमिज्ञाक्तो वैश्यः इत्युच्यते; क्तं च नाम अभ्यवहारार्थमुपादीयते; शक्यं चानेन शलिमांसादीन्यपि क्तयितुम्; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा बैल्वः खादिरो वा यूपः स्यात् इत्युच्यते;

† The expression *लौकिकवैदिकेषु* is taken to mean in the *smṛti* and *śruti* texts by Kātyāyana and others. But on viewing this with *सन्दर्भेण* it is better to take it in the sense 'in the incidents of the world and Vedic rituals.' In that case *दक्षिण भूमनिबन्धः* is understood after *लौकिकवैदिकेषु*.

यूपश्च नाम पशुनुबन्धार्थमुपादीयते ; शक्यं चानेन यत्किञ्चिदेव काष्ठमुच्छ्रित्य अनुच्छ्रित्य वा पशुनुबन्धुम् ; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा अग्नौ कपालान् अविश्रित्य अग्निमन्त्रयते—भृगूणामक्षिरसां धर्मस्य तपसा तप्यन्वम् इति ; अन्तरेणापि मन्त्रम् अग्निर्वहन-
कर्मा कपालानि सन्तापयति ; तत्र च नियमः क्रियते—एवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥

So with reference to the Vedic rituals it is said that during austerities Brāhmaṇa, if hungry, may take milk, Kṣātriya *Yavūga*, and Vāiśya curd of milk and whey ; *Vrata* intends only food ; Rice and meat may serve the same purpose ; still restriction is made. So also it is said that the stake to which the sacrificial animal is tied should be of *bilva* tree or *khadira* tree ; the stake is intended to tie the sacrificial animal ; any piece of wood standing upright or otherwise may serve the purpose ; there is the restriction made. Similarly *kapāla*'s—small pieces of mud—are put in fire and the mantra which means, 'Heat them with the intense heat of Bhṛguś and Aṅgiras' is pronounced ; the small pieces will be heated whether the mantra is recited or not ; there is the restriction made that, if it is done so, it begets merit.

एवमिहापि समानायामर्थावगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च, धर्मनियमः क्रियते—
शब्देनैव अर्थोऽभिधेयो, नापशब्देन इति ; एवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥

So here also though the meaning is understood both from the correct word and the corrupt one, still restriction is made that meaning is to be made out only from the correct word, since from it alone accrues merit.

The meaning of the first *vārttika* having been fully explained, there arises a doubt whether word that is not current in the world is correct or not, since it has been said there that it is used only in such meanings as are current in the world.

अस्यप्रयुक्तः—

सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ताः ; तद्यथा, ऊष तेर चक्र पेच इति ।

Is but not current—there are evidently words which are not current ; viz., *ūṣa*, *tēra*, *cakra*, *pēca*.

किमतो यत्सन्त्यप्रयुक्ताः ? What if there are words not current ?

प्रयोगाद्धि भवाञ्छब्दानां साधुत्वमध्यवस्यति । य इदानीम् अप्रयुक्ताः नामी साधवः स्युः । इदं तावद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्—यदुच्यते सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति—, यदि सन्ति नाप्रयुक्ताः, अथाप्रयुक्ता न सन्ति, सन्ति च अप्रयुक्ताश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

For only from usage you determine the correctness of words. Those which are not now in usage cannot be correct. This is at first contradictory to say that there are words but they are not in usage ; if they are, they cannot have fallen out of use; and if they have fallen out of use, they cannot exist; they exist but they are not in use is contradictory.

प्रयुक्तान एव खलु भवानाह सन्ति शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति ; कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यात् ?

You use the words and say at the same time that they are out of use. Who else of your type can make correct use of words ?

नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्—सन्तीति तावद् ब्रूमः,^{१०} यदेतान् शास्त्रविदः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते । अप्रयुक्ता इति ब्रूमः, यल्लोके अप्रयुक्ता इति । यदप्युच्यते कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यादिति, न ब्रूमोऽस्माभिरप्रयुक्ता इति ।

This is not contradictory ; we first say that they exist since they are formed from the rules of grammar ; then

^{१०} Note the use of the plural by the pupil. This shows that he has lost his balance.

we say that they are not in use since they are not used in the world. As regards the statement—who else of your type can make correct use of words?—we do not say that they are not used by us.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

लोके अप्रयुक्ता इति. They are not made use of in the world.

ननु च भवानप्यभ्यन्तरो लोके ? Are not you one in the world ?

अभ्यन्तरोऽहं लोके, न त्वहं लोकः । I am one in the world, but not the whole world.*

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्न, अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्†—

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत् तन्न । किं कारणम् ? अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्—अर्थे शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते, सन्ति चैषां शब्दानामर्थाः येष्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते ॥

"Is but not current " cannot be said, for words are used to express ideas. If it is said, "Is but not current," it can be denied. How? On account of the use of words to express ideas—words are used to express ideas and there are ideas, to express which the words are used.

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्—

अप्रयोगः खल्वप्येषां शब्दानां न्यायः, कुतः ? प्रयोगान्यत्वात्, यदेतेषां शब्दानामर्थे अन्यान्शब्दान् प्रयुज्यते; तद्यथा, ऊर्षेत्यस्य शब्दस्यार्थे क यूयमुषिताः, तेरेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं तीर्णाः, चक्रेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं कृतवन्तः, पेचेल्यस्यार्थे क यूयं पक्वन्तः इति ।

* He suggests that he uses such words to denote the *form* of the word, while ordinary people use words only to express *ideas*.

† The objection raised is successfully met by five reasons :—
(1) *arthē śabdaprayōgāt*, (2) *aprayōgaḥ prayōgānyatē*, (3) *aprayukṭe dīrghasatpravāt*, (4) *sarvā dēśāntarē* and (5) *vēdē*.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

Non-use on account of the use of other (synonymous) expressions—It is but proper that these words are not in use. Why? On account of other expressions—since other expressions are used to convey the idea of these words, *viz.* 'Kva yūyam uṣitāḥ' in place of 'ūṣa,' 'kva yūyam tirṇāḥ' in place of 'tēra,' 'kva yūyam kṛtavantaḥ' in place of 'cakra' and 'kva yūyam pakṣarantaḥ' in place of 'pēca.'

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्त्ववत्—

यद्यप्यप्रयुक्ताः तथापि अवश्यं दीर्घसत्त्ववल्लक्षणनानुविधेयाः । तद्यथा दीर्घसत्त्वाणि वर्षशतिकाणि वर्षसहस्रिकाणि^१ च, न चाद्यत्वे कश्चिदपि व्यवहरति^२ केवलमृषिसम्प्रदायो^३ धर्म इति कृत्वा याज्ञिकाः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते ।

Though not current, to be treated like *dirghasattra*—Though they are not current, yet they should certainly be treated in grammar like *dirghasattra*. *Dirghasattras* are sacrifices performed in one hundred or one thousand days and they are not performed now-a-days. Still Yājñika's enjoin them in the chapters dealing with sacrifices in the Vedas since it is considered that their study is a *nityakarma*.§

सर्वे देशान्तरे—

सर्वे खल्वप्येते शब्दा देशान्तरेषु^४ प्रयुज्यन्ते

All in other places—All of these words are certainly in use in other places.

^१ वर्षशब्दः दिवसपरः (Nāgōjibhaṭṭa).

^२ आहरति is the reading of Nāgōjibhaṭṭa.

^३ ऋषिसम्प्रदायः = वेदाध्ययनम् (Kāiṣaṭṭa).

^४ Cf. धर्मः = निष्कारणो धर्मः, नित्य इति यावत् ; वेदाध्ययनं नित्यमिति कृत्वा, याज्ञिकाः आपस्तम्बादयः, सत्त्वप्रयोगमपि, शास्त्रेण = सूत्रेण अनुविदधते इति योजना. (Uddyōtana)

^५ देशान्तरे is another reading.

न चैवोपलभ्यन्ते*

But they are not known.

उपलब्धौ यत्नः क्रियताम् । महान् हि शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः—सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती, त्रयो लोकाः, चत्वारो वेदाः साक्षाः सरहस्याः† बहुधा भिन्नाः एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः, एकविंशतिधा ब्राह्मवृच्यं, नवधा आथर्वणो वेदः, वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ्छब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः ॥

Let attempt be made to know them. Great is the range for the use of words—earth with its seven island-continent, three worlds, four *vēdas* with their *aṅgas* and *upaniṣads* with manifold varieties, Yajurveda with 101 recensions, Sāmaveda with 1000 recensions, R̥gvēda with 21 recensions, Atharvaveda with nine recensions, science of discussions, history, purāṇas, works on medicine.

एतावन्तं शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयमनुनिशम्य सन्त्यप्रयुक्ता इति वचनं केवलं साहसमात्रमेव

Without noting such a range for the use of words, it is simple impudence to say that words exist, but at the same time are obsolete.

एतास्मिंश्चातिमहति शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषये ते ते शब्दास्तत्र तत्र नियतविषया दृश्यन्ते—तद्यथा शब्दतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति, विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शब्द इति । हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुज्जते । दातिर्लव-
नार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु ॥

In this vast range of the use of words, particular words in particular meanings are current in different places; *viz.* the

* न चैते is another reading.

† *Rahasyam* = *Upaniṣad*, *Manvādismr̥tayō vā* (*Uddyōta*.)

root *śav* is used in the sense of 'to go' in Kambōja; Aryas make use of that root only in the word *śava* (which means a corpse); the root *ham* in Surāṣṭra, and *rañh* in east and midland countries are used in the sense of 'to go': Aryas use only the root *gam*. The word *dāti* is used in the eastern countries in the sense of 'cutting' and *dātra* in the northern countries.

ये चाप्येते भवतोऽप्रयुक्ता अमिमताः शब्दाः, एतेषामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । क ?
वेदे—तद्यथा, सप्तस्यै रेवती रेवदृष (R. V. IV. 51, 4), यद्वो रेवती रेवत्यां तमूष,
यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र (R. V. I, 165, 11) यत्र नश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम्
(R. V. I. 89, 9) इति ॥

Even such words as are in your opinion obsolete are in use. Where? In Vēda—viz, *saptāsyē rēvatī rēvad ūṣa, yadvō rēvati rēvatyām tam ūṣa, yan mē narah śrutyam brahma cakra, yatrā naścakrā jarasam tanūnām*.

Next arises the doubt whether merit accrues from *śabdajñāna* or *śabda-prayōga* since it is said in the vārttika 'lōkataḥ arthaprayuktē śabda-prayōgē, śāstrēṇa dharmāniyamah.' Kāiṣaṭha says that the following topic arises from the śruti.

एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः शान्त्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति,
where it is doubtful whether the importance is upon *jñāna* or *prayōga*.*

किं पुनः शब्दस्य ज्ञाने धर्मः आहोस्वित् प्रयोगे ?

* Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says that *jñāna* may be considered important and *prayōga* accessory, as *jñāna* is read first in the ś'ruti or *jñāna* may be considered accessory to *prayōga*, since all *jñānas* except *ātma-jñāna* are needed only for application.

Does merit accrue from the *knowledge* of correct words or from the *use* of correct words?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here ?

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथा अधर्मः

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मोऽपि प्राप्नोति । यो हि शब्दाज्ञानाति अपशब्दानप्यसौ जानाति । यथैव शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः एवमपशब्दज्ञानेऽप्यधर्मः ॥

If merit accrues from knowledge, so also will demerit. If it is considered that merit accrues from knowledge, demerit also will accrue; for he who knows correct words knows their corruptions also; as merit accrues from the knowledge of correct words, so also will demerit accrue from that of their corruptions.

अथवा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति । भूयांसो अपशब्दाः, अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः । एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः—तथथा गौरित्यस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः ॥

Or greater demerit will accrue; for greater in number are the corruptions and smaller in number are correct words. For every correct word there are many corruptions. *viz.* गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc., are the corrupt forms of one single word गौः

आचारे नियमः

आचारे पुनर्ऋषिर्नियमं वेदयते—तेऽसुरा हेऽल्यो हेऽल्य इति कुर्वन्तः परावभूवुः इति

Injunction in use; Vēda suggests injunction by the statement तेऽसुरा...परावभूवुः (Those Asuras met with disaster by using हेऽल्यो हेऽल्यः)

अस्तु तर्हि प्रयोगे

If so, let the merit accrue from *prayōga*.

प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य

यदि प्रयोगे धर्मः सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत

If it is from *prayōga*, it will be of the whole world. If merit accrues from *prayōga*, the whole world will get merit.

कश्चेदानीं भवतो मत्सरो यदि सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत ?

Why should you be envious if the whole world get merit ?

न खलु कश्चिन्मत्सरः । प्रयत्नानर्थक्यं तु भवति । फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन भवितव्यम् । न च प्रयत्नः फलव्यतिरेक्यः ॥

There is no envy. The effort will be fruitless. It is indeed necessary that every effort should bear fruit. Effort should not be deprived of fruit.

ननु च ये कृतप्रयत्नास्ते साधीयः शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यन्ते, त एव साधीयोऽभ्युदयेन योक्ष्यन्ते

Oh! Only those who have worked in grammar make use of words very correctly and hence only they can very well meet with merit.

व्यतिरेकोऽपि वै लक्ष्यते—दृश्यन्ते हि कृतप्रयत्नाश्चाप्रवीणाः, अकृतप्रयत्नाश्च प्रवीणाः ; तत्र फलव्यतिरेकोऽपि स्यात्

Reverse also is seen ; It is seen that those who have worked in grammar are not able to use correct words and those who have not worked at it are able to use correct words. Hence the fruit also will be reversed.

एवं तर्हि नापि ज्ञाने एव धर्मः, नापि प्रयोगे एव ।

If so, there is no merit in the knowledge alone nor in the application alone.

किं तर्हि ?

Where then ?

शास्त्रपूर्वकं प्रयोगेऽभ्युदयस्तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन

शास्त्रपूर्वकं यः शब्दान् प्रयुङ्क्ते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यते ; तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन* । वेदशब्दा अप्येवमभिवदन्ति 'योऽग्निष्टोमेन यजते य उ चैनमेवं वेद' 'योऽग्निं नाचिकेतं चिनुते य उ चैनमेवं वेद' ॥

Merit only from the *prayōga* after the study of grammar and it is similar to the sacrifices signified by the Vedic expressions. He who makes use of words after the study of grammar meets with merit. It is similar to those which are signified by Vedic expressions. They say thus:—He who performs *Agniṣṭōma* and knows how it should be done; he who performs *Nāciketacaryana* and knows how it should be done.

अपर आह तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देनेति—यथा वेदशब्दा नियमपूर्वमधीताः फलवन्तो भवन्त्येवं यः शास्त्रपूर्वकं शब्दान् प्रयुङ्क्ते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यत इति

Another interprets the expression *tat tulyam veda-śabdēna* thus:—As the Vedic texts studied according to the enjoined rules are fruitful, so also he who makes use of words after studying grammar meets with merit.

From the above it is clear that, according to the Vārtikakāra, merit accrues only from *prayōga* preceded by

* Vēdas'abdaḥ is split in two ways: (1) *Vēdaḥ śabdaḥ* (bādhakāḥ, pramāṇam vā) *yaṣya saḥ* and (2) *Vēdaś cāsū śabdaśca*.

vyākaraṇādhyayana. Mahābhāṣyakāra seems to differ from him and hence opens the same topic again.

अथवा पुनरस्तु ज्ञान एव धर्म इति

Or let the merit accrue only from knowledge.

ननु चोक्तम् ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्म इति

Was it not said that if *dharma* is from *jñāna*, *adharma* will similarly accrue?

नैव दोषः, शब्दप्रमाणका वयम्, यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम्। शब्दश्च शब्दज्ञाने धर्ममाह, नापशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मम् । यच्च पुनरशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं नैव तद् दोषाय भवति, नाभ्युदयाय । तद्यथा हिक्कितहसितकण्डूयितानि नैव दोषाय भवन्ति नाभ्युदयाय ॥

No, this harm will never be. We have *śabda* for our authority; whatever *śabda* says is authority for us; *śabda* says that merit accrues from the knowledge of words and it does not say that demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words. That which is neither enjoined nor forbidden produces neither merit nor demerit *viz.*, hiccough, laugh, and scratching produce neither demerit nor merit.

अथवा अभ्युपाय एवापशब्दज्ञानं शब्दज्ञाने । यो ह्यपशब्दाज्ज्ञानाति शब्दानप्यसौ जानाति। तदेवं ज्ञाने धर्म इति ब्रुवतोऽर्थादापत्तं भवति—‘अपशब्दज्ञानपूर्वके शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः’ इति

Or the knowledge of corrupt forms of words leads to that of correct ones; he who knows the corrupt forms knows the correct ones also. Hence the statement of him who says that knowledge gives merit leads of its own accord to the inference that knowledge of correct words preceded by that of corrupt forms gives merit.

अथवा, कृपस्वानकवदेतद्विप्यति—तद्यथा, कृपस्वानकः कृपं खनन् यद्यपि मृदा पांशुमिश्रावकीर्णो भवति, सोऽप्यु संजातासु तत एव ते गुणमासादयति, येन च स दोषो निर्हण्यते, भूयसा चाम्युदयेन योगो भवति । एवमिहापि यद्यप्यपशब्द-ज्ञानेऽधर्मस्तथापि यस्त्वसौ शब्दज्ञाने धर्मस्तेन च स दोषो निर्घानिष्यते, भूयसा चाम्युदयेन योगो भविष्यति ॥

Or this may be like a well-sinker. A well-sinker, though he is stuck in the mud and is covered with dust in the process of sinking the well, gets himself rid of the mud and dust with the water as soon as he reaches it, and gets plenty of good from it. So also here even though demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words, yet merit accrues from that of correct ones, which destroys the effect of the former and leads to much good.

यदप्युच्यते आचारे नियमः इति याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमोऽन्यत्रानियमः । एवं हि श्रूयते—यर्वाणस्तर्वाणो नाम ऋषयो बभूवुः प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः परापरज्ञाः विदितवेदितव्या अधिगतयाथातथ्याः—ते तत्रभवन्तो यद्वानस्तद्वान इति प्रयोक्तव्ये यर्वाणस्तर्वाण इति प्रयुज्जते, याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नापभाषन्ते । तैः पुनरसुरैर्याज्ञे कर्मण्यपभाषितम्, ततस्ते परा-भूताः ।

As regards the statement *ācāre niyamah*, it should be taken that the *niyama* holds only to sacrifice so that there may be *anīyama* elsewhere. For it is mentioned in the Vēdas that the revered sages named *Yarvāṇa* and *Tarvāṇa* who could see everything with their mind's eye, who could distinguish the infinite and finite, who had *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* of *ātman* and who had become one with *paramātman* used the words *yarvāṇah* and *tarvāṇah* instead of *yadvāṇah* and *tadvāṇah* (in ordinary conversation) and pro-

* This line of argument is taken on the maxim नुष्यतु दुर्जनः

nounced the correct words in sacrifices. Those *usuras*, on the other hand, pronounced corrupt words in sacrifices and hence met with disaster.

Here it should be noted that the Vārttikakāra and the Mahābhāṣyakāra differ in their views on this topic. The former decides that one gets merit only when he uses correct words (in sacrifices and elsewhere) knowing them as such through his study of grammar. Hence the mere study of grammar does not bear any fruit and only those who have studied grammar and make correct use of them can get dharma. But on the other hand Mahābhāṣyakāra decides that the study of grammar brings *dharma* (ज्ञाने धर्मः) and only correct words should be used in sacrifices whether they have studied grammar or not (याज्ञे कर्मणि नियमः)

VIII

In the first *vārttika*, the statement शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः is found. There the word शास्त्र denotes व्याकरण. This is evident from the following statements of Mahābhāṣyakāra रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम्, तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम्, न चान्तरेण व्याकरणम्, किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाधिजिगांसमानेभ्यः, व्याकरणे स्माधीयते, अनर्थकं व्याकरणम् etc.

Now begins the the discussion on the meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa*.

अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः ?

Now, what is the meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa*?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थो नोपपद्यते—व्याकरणस्य सूत्रम् इति। किं तर्हि तदन्यत्सूत्राद् व्याकरणम्, यस्यादः सूत्रं स्यात् ।

Vyākaraṇa being *sūtra*, unsuitability of the sixth case meaning. If *Vyākaraṇa* means *sūtra*, sixth case meaning in the expression "*Vyākaraṇasya sūtram*" won't suit. Is it then that *vyākaraṇa* is different from *sūtra*, so that it may be said that this *sūtra* is of that?

शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः

शब्दानां चाप्रतिपत्तिः प्राप्नोति, व्याकरणत् शब्दान्यतिपद्यामहे इति । न हि सूत्रत एव शब्दान्यतिपद्यन्ते ।

Non-knowledge of *śabdāḥ*. Knowledge of words cannot be had in the manner in which it is generally known that we get the knowledge of words from *Vyākaraṇa*; for words are not understood only from *sūtras*.

किं तर्हि ? Whence then ?

व्याख्यानतश्च From the commentary also.

ननु च तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवति ?

Is it not that the same *sūtra* split into words becomes commentary ?

न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानम् वृद्धिः आवृत्तिश्च इति

The mere repetition of words composing a *sūtra* like *vrddhiḥ*, *āt*, *āc* does not serve as commentary.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति

Example, counter-example, filling-up the ellipsis in the sentence—all these put together form the commentary.

एवं तर्हि शब्दः

If so, *śabda* is *vyākaraṇa*.

शब्दे ल्युङर्थः

यदि शब्दो व्याकरणं ल्युङर्थो नोपपद्यते, व्याक्रियन्ते शब्दा अनेनेति व्याकरणम् ।
न हि शब्देन किञ्चिद् व्याक्रियते ।

Śabda being *Vyākaraṇa*, the (unsuitability of the) meaning of the suffix *ana*. If *śabda* is taken to be *vyākaraṇa*, the meaning of the suffix *ana* in the word *vyākaraṇa* does not suit since it is derived as *vyākriyante śabdā anēna*; for nothing is analysed into *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* on the authority of *śabda*.

केन तर्हि ? If so, by what ?

सूत्रेण । By *sūtra*.

भवे च तद्धितः

भवे च तद्धितो नोपपद्यते, व्याकरणे भवो योगो वैयाकरण इति । न हि शब्दे भवो योगः

The unsuitability of the secondary suffix in the sense of *bhava*. The secondary suffix which has the sense of *existing* in the word *vāiṣyākaraṇa*, which means the *sūtra* in *vyākaraṇa*, does not suit; for *sūtra* does not exist in *śabda*.

क तर्हि ? Where then ?

सूत्रे In the *sūtra*.

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता नोपपद्यन्ते, पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्, आपिशले काशकृतम् इति । न हि पाणिनिना शब्दाः प्रोक्ताः ।

Besides, the unsuitability of the secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. The secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. in the words *Pāṇinīyam*—that which is said by *Pāṇini*—*Āpiśalam*, *Kāśakṛtsnam* do not fit in; for *śabdās* are not said by *Pāṇini*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता इति, न प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इत्येव, भवेऽपि तद्धितश्चोदितः स्यात्?

What for have the two—*bhavē*, *prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ* been said here instead of the latter alone, since it can include the former also?

पुरस्तादिदमाचार्येण दृष्टम् भवे च तद्धितः इति, तत् पठितम्; तत् उत्तरकालमिदं दृष्टं प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इति, तदपि पठितम्; न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति ।

First this struck Ācārya '*bhavē ca taddhitāḥ*' and it was read; then was he struck with '*prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ*' and it was read. Ācāryas do not stop after writing the sūtras without revising them.

अयं तावददोषः यदुच्यते शब्दे ल्युडर्थः इति । नावश्यं करणाधिकरणयोरेव ल्युङ् विधीयते ।

The objection *śabdē l्युडarthah* does not stand, since the suffix *ana* is not invariably used in the sense of instrument or place of action.

किं तर्हि? Where then?

अन्येष्वपि कारकेषु—कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् इति, तथा प्रस्कन्दनं, प्रपतनम् इति।

In the meanings of other cases also; it is used to denote *apādāna* as in the words *praskandana* and *prapatana*.*

अथवा शब्दैरपि शब्दा व्याक्रियन्ते†—तद्यथा गौरित्युक्ते सर्वे सन्देहा निवर्तन्ते, नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति

Or words are explained by words—*viz.* on saying the word *gāuḥ*, all doubts whether the object denoted is horse or ass are removed.

अयं तर्हि दोषः—भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इति

Then this defect '*bhavē prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ*' stands.

एवं तर्हि

लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम्

लक्ष्यं च लक्षणं चैतत्समुदितं व्याकरणं भवति

If so, *Vyākaraṇa* consists of *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Both *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* form *Vyākaraṇa*.

किं पुनर्लक्ष्यं लक्षणं च? What is *lakṣya* and what is *lakṣaṇa*?

शब्दो लक्ष्यः, सूत्रं लक्षणम् Word is *lakṣya* and *sūtra* is *lakṣaṇa*.

एवमप्ययं दोषः, समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवे नोपपद्यते, सूत्राणि चाप्यधीयान इष्यते वैयाकरण इति

* *Praskandana* = the place from which one has slipped; *prapatana* = the place from which one has fallen.

† Here *vyākṛti* does not mean the determination of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*, but *vīparīṭavyāvṛtti* and *sadyśasaṅgraha*.

Even then there is this defect that the word *vyākaraṇa* which denotes a whole cannot denote its part. But one who studies sūtras alone is taken to be a *vaijyākaraṇa*.

नैष दोषः, समुदायेषु हि शब्दाः प्रवृत्ताः अवयवेष्वपि वर्तन्ते, तद्यथा—पूर्वे पञ्चालः, उत्तरे पञ्चालः, तैलं मुक्तं, घृतं मुक्तं, शुक्लो नीलः कपिलः कृष्ण इति । एवमयं समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवेष्वपि वर्तते ।

It is no defect, for words denoting wholes are used to denote parts also. viz. *East Pañcāla, North Pañcāla, *tāila* is taken in, *ghṛta* is taken in; white, blue, brown, and black, objects. So also the word *vyākaraṇa* used here to denote the whole may denote a part also.

Vārttikakāra has thus closed the topic with the conclusion that *Vyākaraṇa* includes *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Mahābhāṣyakāra is not satisfied with it and hence reopens the topic and decides that *lakṣaṇa* (sūtra) alone is denoted by the word *vyākaraṇa*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु सूत्रम् Or let it denote only sūtra.

ननु चोक्तम् सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः इति ?

Has it not been said that if *vyākaraṇa* denotes sūtra, the meaning of the sixth case does not suit ?

नैष दोषः ; व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन भविष्यति

* The word Pañcāla denotes the whole; but in the expressions Pūrvā Pañcālāḥ etc. it denotes a part. *Tāila* and *ghṛta* denote medicated oil and ghee, so that they refer to the ingredients also which form a part of them. Though the word *śukla* denotes only white object, yet it includes also the black border in a white cloth.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

It is no defect. It can be removed by adopting the principle of व्यपदेशिवद्भावः*

यदप्युच्यते शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः इति, नहि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते ।
किं तर्हि? व्याख्यातश्चेति; परिहृतमेतत्, तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवतीति ।

The objection 'śabdāpratipattiḥ...vyākhyānataśca' was met by the statement 'tadēva sūtram viḡrhitam vyākhyānam bhavati.'

ननु चोक्तं न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐजू इति । किं तर्हि,
उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवतीति ?

Has it not been said 'na kēvalāni...bhavati' ?

अविज्ञानत एतदेवं भवत । सूत्रत एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । आतश्च सूत्रत
एव । यो ह्यसूत्रं कथयेत्तादो गृह्येत ।

This is with the dullard ; for words are learnt only from sūtras. If, on the other hand, one deviates from sūtra, the sound alone and not the substance will be taken to account,

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word *Vyākaraṇa*, and before handling the first sūtra of Ācārya Pāṇini, Mahābhāṣyakāra has to deal with the Māhēśvarasūtras made use of by Pāṇini and discussed by Vārttikakāra. He does this in the next *āhnika* in detail. In order that this

* Cf. Nimittasadbhāvāt mukhyavyapadēsō yasya asti, sa vyapadēs', yastu vyapadēs'ahētvabhāvāt avidyamānavyapadēs'ah sa tēna tulyam vartatē kāryam prati iti vyapadēs'ivad bhavati iti ucyatē (Kāi-yaṭa 1-1-5 sūtra 21). Though *rāhu* and *śiras* are identical, yet there is the *vyavahāra* "*rāhuśśiras*" where mind takes *rāhu* to be a whole and *śiras* to be a part. So also tho' *vyākaraṇa* and *sūtra* are identical, yet in the *prayōga* '*vyākaranasya sūtram*' the former is taken to be the whole and the latter a part.

† नादः may mean Sound or not this

āhnikā may lead to it, he closes this with the next topic which deals with the *Māhēśvarasūtras* as a whole, and which was handled by *Vārttikakāra*.

IX

When sounds are known from *mātrkāṣara*, why should Pāṇini have made use of the *Māhēśvarasūtras* ?*

अथ किमर्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः ?

Now what for are the *Māhēśvarasūtras* ?

वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेशः

वृत्तिसमवायार्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः

Upadēśa is for *vṛttisamavāya*. *Māhēśvarasūtras* are intended to supply different groups of letters suited to Pāṇini's method of composing *sūtras*.

किमिदं वृत्तिसमवायार्थ इति ?

Here what is *vṛttisamavāyārtha* ?

वृत्तये समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः ।

Samavāya for *vṛtti*, *samavāya* for the sake of *vṛtti* and *samavāya* having for its fruit *vṛtti*.†

का पुनर्वृत्तिः? What then is *vṛttih* ?

शास्त्रप्रवृत्तिः

Method of composing *sūtra* (Pāṇini's grammar).

* Even though the literal meaning is this, yet it should be taken to mean why should Pāṇini make use of *Māhēśvarasūtras* when there is *mātrkāṣara*.

† It should be noted that *vṛttisamavāya* should have for its *vigraha*, *vṛttih samavāyah*. Besides it is clear from this statement that the 14 *sūtras* are not the work of Pāṇini.

अथ कः समवायः? What then is *samavāya*?

वर्णानामनुपूर्व्येण सन्निवेशः

The grouping of letters in particular settings.

अथ क उपदेशः? What then is *upadēśa*?

उच्चारणम् Manifestation (when *ḍhakka* was beaten).

कृत एतत्? How is this?

दिशित्त्वाकरणक्रियः, उच्चार्य हि वर्णानाह, उपदिष्टा इमे वर्णा इति

The root *diś* means to pronounce; only by pronouncing the letters it is said that these letters are pronounced.

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः, अनुबन्धानासङ्क्ष्यामि इति, न ह्यनुपदिश्य वर्णाननुबन्धाः शक्या आसङ्क्तुम् ।

For the sake of *anubandhakaraṇa*. *Māhēśvarasūtras* are intended for *anubandha* or indicatory letter, so that I may associate them (with other letters). Without the *sūtras*, the letters cannot be associated with indicatory letters (which are called इत् by Pāṇini),

स एष वर्णानामुपदेशो वृत्तिसमवायार्थश्च अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च; वृत्तिसमवायश्चानुबन्धकरणं च प्रत्याहारार्थम्, प्रत्याहारो वृत्त्यर्थः ।

This list of *Māhēśvarasūtras* is for *ṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakaraṇa*. *Ṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakaraṇa* are for *pratyāhāra* and *pratyāhāra* is to facilitate the making of the *śāstra*.

इष्टबुद्धयर्थश्च

इष्टबुद्धयर्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः, इष्टान् वर्णान् भोक्तव्यामहे इति । न ह्यनुपदिश्य वर्णानिष्टा वर्णाः शक्या विज्ञातुम्*

* Here भोक्तव्यामहे and विज्ञातुम् are causal.

For the sake of enumerating the needed ones. Māhēśvara-sūtras are needed to give expression to the needed letters so that we may enumerate the needed letters. Without the sūtras it is not possible to express the needed letters alone.

इष्टबुद्धयर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः

इष्टबुद्धयर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः, एवंगुणा अपि हि वर्णा इष्यन्ते

If it is said *iṣṭabuddhyarthaśca*, *upadēśa* of letters with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, accent and the nasalised, long and *pluta* letters (is needed). If it is said *iṣṭabuddhyarthaśca*, letters with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* accents and the nasalised, long and *pluta* letters should be read in the 14 sūtras, since we need letters having these qualities also.

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धम्

अवर्णाकृतिरूपदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिस्तथोवर्णाकृतिः

It is accomplished by taking that the genus of the letters is mentioned. The genus 'a' when pronounced includes the the whole 'a-family'; so is the genus 'i' and the genus 'u'. †

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धम् इति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः

आकृत्युपदेशात् सिद्धमिति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, prohibition of *samvṛta* and others. If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, the letters with the defects of *samvṛta* etc. should be prohibited.

† It must be noted that though the genus cannot be pronounced without individuality, yet prominence is given to the genus part of it.

के पुनः संवृतादयः ? What, then, are *samvṛtādi* ?

संवृतः, कलः, ध्मातः, एणीकृतः, अम्बुकृतः, अर्धकः, ग्रस्तः, निरस्तः, प्रगीतः, उप-
गीतः, दिवणः, रोमशः, इति । अपर आह

ग्रस्तं निरस्तमवलम्बितं* हत-
मम्बुकृतं ध्मातमथो विकम्पितम् ।
सन्दृष्टमेणीकृतमर्धकं द्रुतं
विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदोषमावनाः ॥ इति

अतोऽन्ये व्यञ्जनदोषाः

They are sounds which are closed, pronounced in wrong place, lengthened, ambiguous, not clear, shortened, inaudible, harsh, sung, attached to the syllable that is sung, shaking, and superloud. In the opinion of another the defective sounds are those which are inaudible, harsh, mixed with another sound, unpleasant to the ear, not clear, lengthened, shaking, prolonged, ambiguous, shortened, quick and going into another sound. Distinct from these are the defective ways of pronouncing consonants.

नैष दोषः This defect cannot stand.

गर्गादिविदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिः

गर्गादिविदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

The defects—*samvṛta* and others are avoided by *gargādi-pāṭha* and *bidādi-pāṭha*. The defects—*samvṛta* and others are avoided by Pāṇini's reading the collections of words headed by *Garga* and *Bida*.

* अविलम्बिते निर्हृतम् is another reading.

*अस्त्यन्यद् गर्गादिबिदादिपाठे प्रयोजनम्

There is another purpose served by *gargādibidādipāṭha*.

किं ? What ?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यात् इति

So that the whole words like *Garga* may be taken to be correct (and not their parts).

एवं तर्हि अष्टादशधा भिन्नां निवृत्तकलादिकाम् अवर्णस्य प्रत्यापत्तिं वक्ष्यामि†

If so, sūtras इ इ, उ उ etc., like अ अ will be read so that each letter may denote only one of the correct eighteen and not the defective ones.

सा तर्हि वक्तव्या Then should it be read.

लिङ्गार्था तु प्रत्यापत्तिः

लिङ्गार्था सा तर्हि भवति

The repetition will signify something. It (repetition like इ इ, उ उ) will, then, have certain significance (that whatever defects each letter may have had in *prakriyādaśā*, it is free from them in *prayōgadaśā*).

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् Then should it be read.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथैतर्हि अनेकमनुबन्धशतं नोच्चार्यम्, इत्संज्ञा च न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः । यदनुबन्धैः क्रियते तत्कलादिभिः करिष्यते

* In the Benares edition it is conjectured that there should be a vārttika समुदायसाधुत्वार्थं तु गर्गादिबिदादिपाठः

† Cf. अवर्णस्य अअ इति कृतैव, तद्वत् तदनन्तरमन्येषामपि करिष्यामि इति भावः (Uddyōta)

If it is said so, then thousands of *anubandhas* (like कृ and दृ in दृक्) need not be said, they need not be named इत् and the sūtra हलन्त्यम् which enjoins their *lōpa* need not be read.

सिध्यत्येवम् । अपाणिनीयं तु भवति । यथान्यासमेवास्तु ।

The object is then accomplished ; but it goes against Pāṇini's sūtras. Hence let the sūtras be as they are.

ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धमिति चेत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः' इति

Has it not been said that, if everything is accomplished by *ākṛtyupadēśa*, prohibition of *saṁvṛta* and others is to be made.

परिहृतमेतत्—गर्गादिविदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति इति

That objection has been met by the statement that the defects—*saṁvṛta* and others are avoided by *gargādibidūdi-pāṭha*.

ननु चान्यद् गर्गादिविदादिपाठे प्रयोजनमुक्तम् !

Oh ! another was said to be the purpose served by *gargādibidūdi-pāṭha*.

किम् ? What ?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यादिति

So that the whole words may be taken to be correct.

एवं तर्हि उभयमनेन क्रियते, पाठश्चैव विशेष्यते, कलादयश्च निवर्त्यन्ते

If so, both are accomplished by it—the correct reading is understood and the defects are removed.

कथं पुनरेकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम् ?

How can both be accomplished through one effort ?

लभ्यमित्याह Can be accomplished, says he.

कथम् ? How ?

द्विगता अपि हेतवो भवन्ति । तद्यथा—आम्नाश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिता इति तथा वाक्यानि द्विष्टानि भवन्ति—धेतो धावति, अलम्बुसानां^६ याता इति ।

There are causes which have two effects :—*viz.*, Mango trees are watered and manes are satisfied. So also are sentences having two meanings—*viz.*, *śvêtō dhāvati* (white man cleans; dog runs from here); *alambusānām yātā*. (He who goes to *alambusā*; one that can get the colour of straw).

अथवा इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः—केमे संवृतादयः श्रूयेरन्निति ।

Or he is to be put this question, "where can be heard the defective sounds like *samvṛta* ?"

आगमेषु In augments.

आगमाः शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Augments are correctly read.

विकारेषु तर्हि If so, in *ādēśas*.

विकारा अपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते *Ādēśas* also are correctly read.

प्रत्ययेषु तर्हि If so, in *pratyayas*.

प्रत्यया अपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते

Even *pratyayas* are correctly read.

धातुषु तर्हि In roots then.

धातवोऽपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Even roots are correctly read.

प्रातिपदिकेषु तर्हि In stems then.

^६ बुसानाम् = पल्लवबुशानाम् ; (*Annambhaṭṭa*) पल्लवबुशानाम् (*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa*)

प्रातिपदिकान्यपि शुद्धानि पठ्यन्ते Even stems are correctly read.

यानि तर्ह्यग्रहणानि प्रातिपदिकानि ?

Those stems which are not derivable from roots ?

एतेषामपि स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वाज्ञानार्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः, शशः षष इति मा भूत्, पलाशः पलाष इति मा भूत्, मञ्चको मञ्जक इति मा भूत्

Enumeration of such stems also need be made so that the nature and order of sounds in them may be known and शशः, पलाशः, and मञ्चक may not be misread as षष, पलाष and मञ्जक respectively.

आगमाश्च विकाराश्च प्रत्ययाः सह धातुभिः ।

उच्चार्यन्ते ततस्तेषु नेमे प्राप्ताः कलादयः ॥

Augments, substitutes and suffixes are correctly read with roots. Hence there is no opportunity for the defects like *kala* to happen there.

From the above it is clear that the objection "इष्टबुद्धयर्थ-इचेति...उपदेशः" does not stand. Hence इष्टबुद्धयर्थश्च need not be mentioned as a *prayōjana*.*

इति धीमद्भगवत्तत्त्वज्ञविरचिते महाभाष्ये प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे प्रथममाहिकम् ॥

Paspaśāhnika† ends.

* Cf. वर्णोपदेशास्य मुख्यं फलं तु प्रत्याहारनिर्णयः (Śabdakāustubha).

† Annambhaṭṭa in his *Uddyōtana* has quoted a verse which says that the word *paspaśa* means *upōdghāta* or introduction.

शास्त्रस्यारम्भको ग्रन्थ उपोद्घात इतिरितः ।

‡ एव ग्रन्थसन्दर्भः पस्पशः कथितो बुधैः ॥

He has mentioned the word पस्पशः in the masculine gender. But Nāgōjibhaṭṭa has mentioned पस्पशा in the feminine gender. Cf. अत एव पस्पशायाम् भाष्ये (Laghumañjūsa) under the topic बुद्धवाक्यं न प्रमाणम् in तिङर्थ-निरूपण.

2. प्रत्याहाराह्निकम्

Having dealt with the use of the fourteen Māheśvarasūtras *in toto* at the end of the previous āhnika, Mahābhāṣyakāra deals with the following eight sūtras in detail in this āhnika :- अइउण्, कलृक्, एओङ ऐऔच, हयवरट्, लण्, अमङ्गणतम् and झभञ्. Hence this āhnika is called प्रत्याहाराह्निकम्.

अइउण्

There are three topics in this sūtra. There should be vivṛtōpadēśa (1) in अ of अइउण्, (2) in अ of roots, stems etc. and (3) in अ of the sūtras like अस्य च्चैः, यस्येति च.

I

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारग्रहणार्थः

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः * । किं प्रयोजनम् ? आकारग्रहणार्थः—अकारः सर्वणग्रहणेन आकारमपि यथा गृहीयात्.

The *vivṛtōpadēśa* of *akāra* is to comprehend *ākāra* also. The *vivṛtōpadēśa* of *akāra* is necessary. Why ? For the sake of comprehending *ākāra*—so that *akāra* may comprehend *ākāra* by the sūtra अणुदित्सर्वणस्य चाप्रत्ययः which enables अण् and उदित् to comprehend *savarnas*.

* This sentence may be interpreted in two ways :—(1) The *vivṛtōpadēśa* suggested by the sūtra 'अअ' is necessary, or (2) *vivṛtōpadēśa* must be enjoined to अ. In the latter case both *vivṛtōpadēśa* and its reason are enjoined and in the former case the reason alone.

किं च कारणं न गृहीयात् ?

Why will it not comprehend ?

विवारभेदात्

By the difference in their *ābhyantara-prayatna*.

किमुच्यते विवारभेदादिति न पुनः कालभेदादपि, यथैव ह्ययं विवारमित्रः एवं कालमित्रोऽपि ?

How is it that mention is made of the difference in *ābhyantaraprayatna* alone and not of the difference in *mātrā* also, since it (*ākāra*) differs from *akāra* in *mātrā* in the same way as it differs from it in *ābhyantaraprayatna* ?

सत्यमेवमेतत् ; वक्ष्यति “ तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सर्वर्णम् ” इत्यत्र आस्यग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् ‘ आस्ये येषां तुल्यो देशः प्रयत्नश्च ते सर्वर्णसंज्ञा भवन्ति इति ; बाह्यश्च पुनरास्यात्कालः ’, तेन स्यादेव कालमित्रस्य ग्रहणं न पुनर्विवारमित्रस्य ।

True, so is it; Mahābhāṣyakāra is going to say in the bhāṣya under the sūtra तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सर्वर्णम् that the need for the word आस्यम् in the sūtra is to suggest that only such sounds as have the same place of articulation and the manner of articulation within the mouth become *savarṇas*. Quantity of a sound is determined outside the mouth. Hence one sound can comprehend another having different quantity but not having different *ābhyantaraprayatna*.

किं पुनरिदं[†] विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते, आहोस्वित् संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य विवृतोपदेशश्चोद्यते ?

[†] नामिप्रदेश एव विशिष्टप्रयत्नारम्भात् दीर्घादिनिष्पत्त्या नामेव आस्यात् बाह्यत्वात् कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् (Kaīyaṭa). नामिप्रदेश एव बाह्योः प्रकारप्रयत्नमारभ्यते इति कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् अस्येव (Pradīpikā)

[†] इदम् = अत्र Cf. इदमहममुमववाध (शतपथब्राह्मणम् 1. 3. 5. 7).

Is it here that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśa*?

विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वास्यायते
The purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

कथं ज्ञायते? How is it so interpreted?

यद्यम् अ अ इत्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृतताप्रत्यापत्तिं शास्ति

Since the *Sūtrakāra* enjoins in the *sūtra* अत्र that the *vivṛta-akāra* becomes *saṁvṛta* by the *pratyūpatti*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This *sūtra* does not suggest it; for another purpose is served by it.

किम्? What is it?

अतिखट्वः अतिमालः इत्यत्र आन्तर्यतो विवृतस्य विवृतः प्राप्नोति, संवृतः स्यादित्येवमर्था प्रत्यापत्तिः

Vivṛta-akāra will replace *ivṛta-ākāra* in the words अतिखट्वः and अतिमालः on account of similarity; the *pratyūpatti* is for the sake of *saṁvṛta-akāra* replacing *vivṛta-ākāra* in them.

नैतदस्ति; नैव लोके न च वेदे अकारो विवृतोऽस्ति*

No, that cannot be; there is no *vivṛta-akāra* either in ordinary usage or in *Vēda*.

कस्तर्हि?

If so, which is it (that is found in *lōka* or *Vēda*)?

* It may be interesting to note that *a* is now pronounced in Southern India only as an open sound and it may be due to the influence of the pronunciation of *a* in Tamil language.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

संवृतः । योऽस्ति स भविष्यति । तदेतत्प्रत्यापत्तिवचनं^१ ज्ञापकमेव भविष्यति
विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत इति

Saṁvṛta-akāra. That which is, appears there. Hence the statement of *pratyūpatti* suggests that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

कः पुनस्त्र विशेषः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत, संवृतस्योपदिश्य-
मानस्य वा विवृतोपदेशः चोद्येत इति !

What is the speciality here whether it is taken that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśa* ?

न खलु कश्चिद्विशेषः; आहोपुरुषिकामात्रं तु; भवानाह संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य
विवृतोपदेशश्चोद्यते इति, वयं तु ब्रूमः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत इति
No speciality whatsoever; it is only conceit; you say that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśa* and we say that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

II

तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः सर्वर्णग्रहणार्थः

तस्यैतस्याक्षरसमानाधिक्यस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

On account of its *vivṛtōpadēśa*, there is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa* elsewhere to comprehend like sounds. Since there has been *vivṛtōpadēśa* in the *akāra* of अइउण् of the Māhēśvara-sūtras, there is need to declare *vivṛtōpadēśa* elsewhere also.

कान्यत्र ? Which does elsewhere refer to ?

^१ प्रत्यापत्तिः = Reversion to original state. Cf. स्वरूपाद्वि प्रच्युतस्य पुनः
स्वरूपे अवस्थानं प्रत्यापत्तिः (Uddyōtana).

धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातस्थस्य

The *akāra* in *dhātu*, *prātipadika*, *pratyaya* and *nipāta*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

सवर्णग्रहणार्थः, आक्षरसमाम्नायिकेनास्य ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

So that it may comprehend *like sounds*. So that this may be comprehended by the *akāra* of Māhēśvarasūtras.

किं च कारणं न स्यात् ?

Why will it not be comprehended ?

विवारभेदादेव

Evidently through the difference in the *ābhyantaraprayatna*.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन धात्वादस्थस्य ग्रहणमिति, यदयम् अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः इति प्रत्याहारे अको ग्रहणं करोति

Ācārya's usage suggests that the *akāra* of *dhātu*, etc., is comprehended by that in Māhēśvarasūtras since he uses the word *akāḥ* in the sūtra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted so that it may become a *jñāpaka* ?

न हि द्वयोराक्षरसमाम्नायिकयोर्युगपत्समवस्थानमस्ति

For two *akāras* do not exist simultaneously in Māhēśvarasūtras.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This cannot become a *jñāpaka*, for there is another purpose served by the use of this *akāḥ*.

किम्? What is it?

यस्याक्षरसमानाधिक्येन ग्रहणमस्ति तदर्थमेतत्स्यात् स्वद्वादकं, मालाढकम् इति

It is used where it can be applied to the *ākāras* comprehended by *a* in the Māhēśvarasūtras—viz., स्वद्वादकम्, मालाढकम्.*

सति प्रयोजने न ज्ञापकं भवति, तस्मात् विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

If there is a *prayōjana*, it does not become a *jñāpaka* and hence there is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa*.

†क एष यलश्चोद्यते विवृतोपदेशो नाम, विवृतो वा उपदिश्येत संवृतो वा, को न्वत्र विशेषः ?

What for is this attempt about *vivṛtōpadēśa*? Let *vivṛtōpadēśa* be made or *saṁvṛtōpadēśa*; what is the difference?

स एष सर्व एवमर्थो यलः क्रियते, यान्येतानि प्रतिपदिकान्यग्रहणाति, तेषामेतेनाभ्युपायेन उपदेशश्चोद्यते, तद् गुरु भवति । तस्माद्वक्तव्यं धात्वादिस्यश्च विवृत इति

All this attempt is made for the sake of non-derivable stems. If this *vivṛtōpadēśa* is not made, all such stems will have to be read and it will be a stupendous task. Hence the *ākāra* of *dhātu* etc., should have *vivṛtōpadēśa*.

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थः

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थो विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः, दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ मा मृताम् इति वृक्षाभ्यां, देवदत्ता ३ इति

To ward off *saṁvṛtatva* in the long and pluta sounds. There is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa* to ward off *saṁvṛtatva* in long and

* It may be applied where *ā* and *ā* coalesce, since *ā* is comprehended by the *a* of अङ्गत्वं on the strength of the sūtra अनुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः

† This question is based upon the assumption that the *ākāra* in *dhātu* etc., is read with *vivṛtaprayatna*.

pluta sounds (i.e.) that long and pluta sounds in words like वृक्षाभ्यां, देवदत्ता ३ may not become *samvṛta*.

नैव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ स्तः

Neither in usage nor in Vēda are long and pluta sounds closed ones.

कौ तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ, यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः

Open ones; those that are will certainly appear.

स्थानीं प्रकल्पयेदेतावनुस्वारो यथा यणम्

संवृतः स्थानीं संवृतौ दीर्घप्लुतौ प्रकल्पयेत्, अनुस्वारः यथा यणम्, तद्यथा सय्यन्ता सर्व्वत्सरः, यल्लोकं, तल्लोकम् इति; अनुस्वारः स्थानी यणमनुनासिकं प्रकल्पयति।

Sthānin will produce these two as *anusvāra* brings in nasalised semivowels. The closed *sthānin* will bring in closed long and pluta sounds as *anusvāra* brings in nasalised semivowels. viz., सय्यन्ता, सर्व्वत्सरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम्. The *sthānin* which is *anusvāra* brings in nasalised semivowels.

विषम उपन्यासः, युक्तं यत्सतस्तत्र प्रकल्पतिर्भवति; सन्ति हि यणः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च; दीर्घप्लुतौ पुनर्नैव लोके न च वेदे संवृतौ स्तः

The reasoning is not sound. It is but just to bring in what exists; there are semivowels both nasalised and non-nasalised; but the long and pluta sounds are closed ones neither in usage nor in Vēda.

कौ तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ । यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः

Open sounds. Those that are will appear.

एवमपि कुत एतत् तुल्यस्थानौ प्रयत्नभित्तौ भविष्यतः, न पुनस्तुल्यप्रयत्नौ स्थान-
भित्तौ स्याताम् ईकार उकारो वेति.

Granting this, how is it that only those that have the same organ of articulation but different *prayatnas* are taken to be like sounds and not those who have the same *prayatna* but different organs of articulation, like *ī* and *ū* ?

वक्ष्यति स्थानेन्तरतमः इत्यत्र स्थान इत्यनुवर्तमाने पुनः स्थानेग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं
यत्र अनेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानतः आन्तर्यं बलीयो भवतीति* ।

He is going to say in the *bhāṣya* under the sūtra स्थानेऽन्तर-
तमः that, though the word स्थाने can be taken there to follow
from the sūtra षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा, the mention of स्थाने there sug-
gests that, of the many kinds of relationships, that from the
organ of articulation predominates.

III

तत्रानुवृत्तिनिर्देशे† सवर्णाग्रहणमनप्यत्वात्

तत्र अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशे सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति—अस्य च्चौ, यस्येति च ।
किं कारणम्? अनप्यत्वात्, न ह्येते अणः येऽनुवृत्तौ

There in the *akāra* as in अङ्गुष्ठं there cannot be *savarṇa-
grahana* since it is not an *an*. There in the sūtras अस्य च्चौ,
यस्येति च where there is the mention of *akāra* as in अङ्गुष्ठं
of the Māhēśvarasūtras, it cannot comprehend like sounds.
Why? Since it does not come under the *pratyāhāra an*
Those which are in *anuvṛtti* are not *aṇaḥ*.

* स्थानत एवान्तर्यं बलीयो यथा स्यात् is another reading.

† अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशः—इति वर्णसमासायम् अनुगतः तत्त्वदशः अनुवृत्तिः अकारादिः, तस्य
निर्देशः स्वरूपेण उच्चारणम् इत्यर्थः (उच्यते under अणुदित्यवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः)

के तर्हि ?

If so, which are *anah* ?

येऽक्षरसमाम्नाये उपदिश्यन्ते

Those that are read in *Māhēśvarasūtras*.

एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम्

एकोऽयमकारो यश्चाक्षरसमाम्नाये यश्चानुवृत्तौ यश्च धात्वादस्थः

The point is achieved on account of oneness of *akāra*. This *akāra* is one whether it is in अइउण्, अत्य च्यौ etc., or in *dhātu* etc.

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु प्राप्नोति कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति, केऽपि णित्कृते प्राप्नोति

Confusion in the effect of *anubandhas*. There will arise confusion in the effect of the different *anubandhas*. For instance, the operation of the *sūtras* कर्मण्यण् and आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः will be so confused that the effect of णित् will be found in कित्.

एकाजनेकाज्यहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः

एकाजनेकाज्यहणेषु चानुपपत्तिर्भवति^{१०}

Also the inapplicability of the *sūtras* dealing with *ekāc* and *anēkāc*. There will arise inapplicability of the *sūtras* dealing with words having one vowel and those having many vowels.

तत्र को दोषः ? What will be the harm there ?

^{१०} भविष्यति is another reading. The word एकाच् generally means a syllable, but here it means a vowel.

किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकाज्जक्षणमन्तोदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति, इह च घटेन तरति घटिक
इति द्व्यज्जक्षणः घृन् न प्राप्नोति

In the words किरिणा and गिरिणा the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel *i* in both. So also the pratyaya *ika* (sṭhan) which is enjoined after a word having two vowels cannot appear after the word घट so that the word घटिक used in the sense of one who crosses with the help of a pot cannot be formed.

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्ति । तद्यथा—द्रव्येषु नैकेन घटेन अनेको युगपत्कार्यं
करोति ; एवम् इममकारं नानेको युगपदुच्चारयेत्

Applications as in *dravyas*. Applications have to be done as in the case of *dravyas*. As many cannot simultaneously make use of one pot among *dravyas*, so also many cannot pronounce this *akāra* simultaneously.

The three objections raised against the statement एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम् are answered as follows :—

विषयेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

यद्ययं विषये विषये नानालिङ्गमकारं करोति—कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति
तेन ज्ञायते नानुबन्धसङ्गोऽस्तीति। यदि हि स्यात् नानालिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात्, एक-
मेवायं सर्वगुणमुच्चारयेत्

The point is achieved on account of the different indications in each place. Since the Ācārya makes different indications in each place like 'ण्' in कर्मण्यण् and क् in आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः, it is learnt that there is no confusion in the effect of *anubandhus*. Had there been any confusion, the reading of different indications will be of no avail; he would have read only one *akāra* with all *anubandhus*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, इत्संज्ञाप्रकल्प्यर्थमेतत्स्यात्; न ह्ययमनुबन्धेः शल्यकव-
च्छक्य उपचेतुम्, इत्संज्ञायां हि दोषः स्यात्, आयम्य हि द्वयोरित्संज्ञा स्यात् ।
कयोः! आद्यन्तयोः

This is not a *jñāpaka* since it is intended to enable them get the designation of इत्; for it is not possible to heap *anubandhas* like porcupine (its quills), since in such a case there will be difficulty in getting the designation of इत्; all being put together, the designation of इत् is possible only for two. For which two? For the initial and the final sounds.

एवं तर्हि,

विषयेण तु पुनर्लिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

यद्यं विषये विषये पुनर्लिङ्गसकारं करोति—प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्, शिवादिभ्योऽण् इति । तेन ज्ञायते नानुबन्धसङ्गरोऽस्तीति । यदि हि स्यात्पुनर्लिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात् ।

If so, the point is achieved on account of the repetition of the same indicator in different places, like अण् in प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्, शिवादिभ्योऽण्. Hence it is understood that there is no *anubandha-sankara*. If it were, the repetition of the same *anubandha* will be of no avail.

* अथवा पुनरस्तु

विषयेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

इत्येव

Or let it be that the point is achieved on account of the different indicators in each place.

* This argument is perhaps Mahābhāṣyakāra's own.

ननु चेत्तम्—इत्थंज्ञापकत्वंप्यर्थमेतत् स्यात् इति ?

Has it not been said that it is intended to enable them get the designation of इत् ?

नैव दोषः । लोकोक्त एतत्सिद्धम् । तद्यथा लोके कश्चिदेवं देवदत्तमाह—इह मुण्डो भवः इह जटिलो भव, इह शिखी भव, इति यल्लिङ्गो यत्रोच्यते तल्लिङ्गस्तत्रोप-
तिष्ठते । एवमयमकारो यल्लिङ्गो यत्रोच्यते तल्लिङ्गस्तत्रोपस्थास्यते ।

No, that objection cannot stand. The purpose is achieved as it is in the world. For instance we see in the world one telling Dēvadatta, "Appear here with a shaven head, appear here with matted hair, appear here with a tuft" and Dēvadatta coming there with that particular mark. So also it is only that *ākāśa* having the mentioned indicator appears on the scene.

यदप्युच्यते 'एकाजनेकाग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः' इति,

एकाजनेकाग्रहणेषु चावृत्तिसंख्यानात्

एकाजनेकाग्रहणेषु चावृत्तेः संख्यानादनेकात्वं भविष्यति । तद्यथा 'सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्ति' इति, 'त्रिः प्रथमामन्वाह त्रिरुत्तमाम्' इत्यावृत्तिः सप्तदशत्वं भवति । एवमिहाप्यावृत्तितो ज्ञेकात्वं भविष्यति

The objection that was raised about the inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with *īkāc* and *anīkāc* is met thus—by counting the repeated sound in the sūtras dealing with *īkāc* and *anīkāc*. *Anīkācitra* is accomplished in the sūtras dealing with *īkāc* and *anīkāc* by counting the repeated sounds. For instance *sāmīdhēnī rks* are counted as seventeen (though they are only thirteen in number) by reading the first and the last *rks* thrice each. So also *anīkācitra* is accomplished here by the repetition of the same sound.

भवेदावृत्तिः कार्यं परिहृतम् । इह तु खलु किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकान्वक्षण-
मन्तोदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति

The objection was met with by saying that the desired object is achieved by the repetition. But here in the words किरिणा and गिरिणा, only the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel इ in both.

एतदपि सिद्धम्

Here too the desired object is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

लोकतः—तथा ऋषिसहस्रमेकां कपिलमेकैकशः सहस्रकृत्वा दत्त्वा तथा सर्वे
ते सहस्रदक्षिणाः संपन्नाः । एवमिहापि अनेकात्त्वं भविष्यति

From the world. A thousand of seers get the fruit of having given away in charity thousand cows though there is only one brown cow, each giving her thousand times (by purchasing it back every time from the recipient). So also *anēkācche* is accomplished here.

* यदप्युच्यते 'द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्तीति' भवेद् यदसंगति कार्यं तल्लोको
युगपत्कुर्यात् ; यत्तु खलु संगति कार्यं अनेकोऽपि तद्युगपत्करोति । तथा घटस्य
दर्शनं स्पर्शनं वा । संगति चेदं कार्यमकारस्योच्चारणं नाम ; अनेकोऽपि तद्युगपत्
करिष्यति

The objection that was raised that the applications are as in the case of *dravyas* is met thus :—it is true in the case of that

* It deserves to be noted that there is no *vārtika* answering the objection raised by द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः. Perhaps the same *vārtika* was read here also and was interpreted by Mahābhāṣyakāra in a different way, but was omitted by the scribe.

which is not possible for many to handle simultaneously, but in cases where many can handle the same thing at the same time it is not true. For instance the seeing of a pot or the touching of it. The pronouncing of *akāra* is thus possible; many pronounce it at the same time.

From the above it is clear that all the objections raised against the statement एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम् have been satisfactorily answered. Henceforth another set of objections is thrown against the same statement.

आन्यभाव्यं तु कालशब्दव्यवायात्

आन्यभाव्यं त्वकारस्य, कुतः? कालशब्दव्यवायात्—कालव्यवायात् शब्द-
व्यवायाच्च; कालव्यवायात् दण्ड-अग्रम्; शब्दव्यवायात्-दण्डः । न चैकस्यात्मनो
व्यवायेन भवितव्यम्; भवति चेद्वत्त्वान्यभाव्यमकारस्य

No, there is the state of being different on account of the intervention of time and sound. There is the state of being different in *akāra*. Why? On account of the intervention of time and sound — on account of the intervention of time and on account of the intervention of sound—viz. दण्ड-अग्रम्, दण्डः. There is no intervention for the same sound. If there is intervention, they are different.

युगपच्च देशपृथक्त्वदर्शनात्

युगपच्च देशपृथक्त्वदर्शनान्मन्यामहे आन्यभाव्यमकारस्य इति, यदयं युगपद्देश-
पृथक्त्वेऽप्युलभ्यते अथः अर्कः अर्थ इति । न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत्तुङ्गे च भवति
मथुरायाम् च ॥

On account of its being found simultaneously in different places. Since the *akāra* is found in different places at the same time,

we think they are different. It is found in different places at the same time in the words अण्वः, अर्कः, अर्थः. The same Dēva-datta cannot remain at the same time at Srughna and at Mathurā.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः

शकुनिवत्स्युः *

तद्यथा शकुलय आशुगामित्वात्पुस्तदुत्थिताः पश्चाद्दृश्यन्ते, एवमयमकारो द इत्यत्र दृष्टो ण्ड इत्यत्र दृश्यते

If these sounds are like birds. Just as the birds that seat themselves first in a row quickly fly from their places and seat themselves last, so also the *akāra* is first found after 'द' and then after 'ण्ड'

नैवं शक्यम्, अनित्यत्वमेवं स्यात् । नित्याश्च शब्दाः, नित्येषु च शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवेत्तज्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः । यदि चायं द इत्यत्र दृष्टो ण्ड इत्यत्र दृश्येत नायं कूटस्थः स्मृतः

No, this is not possible, for in that case words will become *anīya*. They are, on the other hand, *nitya* and so words should have sounds which do not move, change and which are neither replaced nor augmented. If the 'a' which is seen after 'd' is afterwards seen after 'ṇḍ', it cannot be considered *kūṭastha*.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः

* This is in answer to the objection कालशब्दव्यवस्थान्

आदित्यवत्स्युः *

तद्यथा एक आदित्योऽनेकाधिकरणस्यो युगपदेशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते

If these sounds are taken to be like the sun. The one sun in different places is seen simultaneously.

विषम उपन्यासः, नैको द्रष्टा आदित्यमनेकाधिकरणस्य युगपदेशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभते, अकारं पुनरुपलभते ॥

The reasoning is not sound. The same observer does not see the sun in different places at the same time; but he sees so *ākāra*, on the other hand.

अकारमपि नोपलभते

He does not see *ākāra* also.

किं कारणम्? Why?

श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्वृद्धिनिर्वाणः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलित आकाशदेशः शब्दः, एकं च पुनराकाशम्

Śabda which is heard by the ear, understood by the mind and exhibited by the sound has for its place only *ākāśa* and *ākāśa* is one.

आकाशदेशा अपि बहवः, यावता बहवः तस्मादन्यत्रभाव्यमकारस्य

The *ākāśodeśas* also are many. Since they are many, the many-ness of *ākāra* should be conceded.

* This is an answer to the objection युगपत् कालपृथक्त्वदर्शनात् (cf. आदित्यवत्स्युपपत्तम् (*Jaiminiya sūtra* 1—1—15); अस्ति नैकमनेकाधिकरणस्य युगपत्—आदित्यः (*Vārttikas* under मरुपाणमेकदेश एकविभक्तौ 1—2—64)

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् *

अवर्णाकृतिरुदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिः, तथेवर्णाकृतिः

The object is achieved by taking it to refer to genus. The genus *a* when pronounced comprehends the whole family of the individuality *a*. So is the genus of *i* and so is the genus of *u*.

तद्वच्च तपरकरणम्

एवं च कृत्वा तपराः क्रियन्ते आकृतिग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति

The association of the *ambandha* त् has it (आकृतिप्रश्न) in view.

ननु च सर्वग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति कृत्वा तपराः क्रियेरन्

Are they not associated with त् to avoid the comprehension of like sounds?

प्रत्याख्यायते तत् सर्वेऽणुग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च

It is refuted thus सर्वेऽणुग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च (in the sūtra (अणुदित्सर्वर्णस्य चाग्रन्त्ययः))

हल्ग्रहणेषु च

In the sūtras dealing with consonants.

किम्? What?

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धमित्येव । श्लो जलि अवात्ताम्, अवात्तम्, अवात्त, यत्रैत-
न्नास्ति अणुसर्वर्णान् गृह्णाति इति ॥

The object is achieved by taking them refer to genus. The words अवात्ताम् अवात्तम् अवात्त will be formed from अवात् - स् - ताम्,

* Cf. आकृत्यभिधानाद्वैकं विभक्तौ वाचप्यायनः (Vārttika under सत्पाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ 1—2—64.)

अवाम् - स - तम्, अवाम् - न - ने by the application of श्लो श्लि where there is no room for the principle अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति to operate.

रूपसामान्याद्वा

रूपसामान्याद्वा सिद्धमेतत् । तद्यथा 'तानेव शाटकानाच्छादयामः ये मधुरा-
याम्' 'तानेव शालीन् भुञ्जमहे ये मगधेषु', 'तदेवेदं भवतः कार्पाषणं यन्मथुरायां
गृहीतम्', अन्यस्मिन्नान्यस्मिन् रूपसामान्यात्तदेवेदमिति भवति । एवमिहापि रूप-
सामान्यात् सिद्धम् ॥

Or by the similarity of shape.

This is achieved even by the similarity of shape. For instance even though objects are different, they are taken to be one from similarity of shape and hence we see the following usage :— We dress ourselves with the same dress as at Mathura ; we eat the same rice as at Magadha ; this is the same coin as was received at Mathura. So also our object is achieved here by taking the *akāras* to be one from similarity of shape.

The topics II and III are based on व्यक्तिपक्ष. The objections raised in the third topic were finally answered by first taking recourse to जातिपक्ष in the statement आकृतिग्रहणान्वितदम् and then to व्यक्तिपक्ष in the statement रूपसामान्याद्वा.

Nāgajibhūṭṭa says 'अकारव्यक्तीनामानन्त्यमाश्रित्य वार्तिककृता वर्ण-
समाज्ञायस्थस्य विवृतत्वेऽपि धात्वादस्थस्यापि विवृतेत्यदेशो नोदितः ; भाष्य-
कृता तु प्रयोगस्थानां प्रत्याहारस्यैः ग्रहणात् तत्र जातिनिर्देशो आवश्यकः जाते-
र्विवृतत्वप्रतिष्ठानेनैव सर्वसिद्धेः स दोषो वारितः । But on looking at the
vārttika "सवर्णेऽण् ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणात्" under the sūtra
'अणुद्विसवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः' it seems that Vārttikakāra himself has
given expression to जातिपक्ष. Perhaps the statement रूपसामान्याद्वा
may be Mahābhāṣyakāra's own, since, wherever he deals with
the interpretation of the word आकृति, he takes it in both the
senses of *jāti* and shape.

अलृक्

अथ * लृकारोपदेशः किमर्थः ?

What for is the mention of लृ (in अलृक्) ?

हि विशेषेण लृकारोपदेशश्चोद्यते न पुनरन्येषामपि वर्णानामुपदेशश्चोद्यते ! यदि किञ्चिदन्येषामपि वर्णानामुपदेशे प्रयोजनमस्ति लृकारोपदेशश्चापि तद्वद्वितुमर्हति । को वा विशेषः ?

Why is the mention of the letter लृ alone specially discussed and not that of other letters ? If there is any use in the mention of other letters, the same may be for that of लृ. What is the speciality ?

अयमस्ति विशेषः । अत्र हि लृकारस्य अल्पीयांश्चैव प्रयोगविषयः । यथापि प्रयोगविषयः सोऽपि कल्पित्वत्वेन ; रूपेण लृत्वमसिद्धं, तस्य असिद्धत्वात् ऋकारस्यैव अचकार्याणि भविष्यन्ति । नार्थे लृकारोपदेशेन

There is this speciality. There is but a little use of this in words. The only place where it is found is in the formations having the element कृप्. The *lata* in कृप् is non-existent† and hence the *ackārya* will happen to ऋ. Hence there is no use in the mention of लृ.

अत उत्तरं पठति—

Thus does he read the answer.

लृकारोपदेशो यदच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणञ्चुत्याद्यर्थः

Mention of लृ is for the sake of यदच्छाशब्द, अशक्तिजानुकरणशब्द and च्चुत्यादि.

* लृकारस्य उपदेशः is another reading.

† कृप्ते ऐ सः ४-२-१४

लकारोपदेशः कियते यदच्छाशब्दार्थः अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थः प्लुत्यार्थश्च ।
यदच्छाशब्दार्थस्तावत् — यदच्छा कश्चित् लृतको नाम, तस्मिन्लृत्कार्याणि यथा
स्युः दध्लृतकाय देहि, मध्लृतकाय देहि, उदङ्लृतकोऽगमत्, प्रत्यङ्लृतकोऽगमत् ।
चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः, जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दाः यदच्छाशब्दाश्चतुर्थाः

Mention is made of लृ for the sake of यदच्छाशब्द, अशक्तिजानुकरण-
शब्द and प्लुत्यादि. First for the sake of यदच्छाशब्द (i.e.) word
coined at random to name a person or object without its
being formed from any root. One is named लृतक. When that
word is used, the vowel-laws have to operate, viz. दध्लृतकाय
(दधि+लृतकाय) देहि, मध्लृतकाय (मधु+लृतकाय) देहि, उदङ्लृतकः
(उदङ्+लृतकः) अगमत्, प्रत्यङ्लृतकः (प्रत्यङ्+लृतकः) अगमत्. The
flow of words is fourfold—जातिशब्दाः (words denoting genus),
गुणशब्दाः (words denoting quality), क्रियाशब्दाः (words denoting
action) and यदच्छाशब्दाः

अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थः—अशक्त्या कयाचित् नामण्या ऋतक इति प्रयोक्तव्ये लृतक
इति प्रयुक्तं, तस्मानुकरणे ब्राह्मणलृतक इत्याह कुमार्यलृतक इत्याह इति

For the sake of imitating the word mispronounced on
account of incapacity. On account of incapacity ऋतक was
mispronounced as लृतक by a brahman women and it was
quoted thus ब्राह्मणलृतक इत्याह, कुमार्यलृतक इत्याह.

प्लुत्यार्थश्च—के पुनः प्लुत्यादयः ? प्लुतिर्द्विवचनस्वरिताः—कल्लश्शिशव्, कल्लः,
प्रकल्लः ; प्लुत्यादिषु कार्येषु छेपेत्स्वं सिद्धं, तस्य सिद्धत्वादच्छायाणि न सिध्यन्ति ।
तस्मात् लकारोपदेशः कियते

For the sake of प्लुत्यादि. What are प्लुत्यादि ? प्लुतिः, द्विवचनम्
and स्वरितः viz. कल्लश्शिशव्, कल्लः, प्रकल्लः. In the operations
प्लुति etc. the लृ inङ् is *siddha* and hence the vowel-rules will
not operate. Hence the latter लृ should be read in the sūtra.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोगानि

These are not the benefits.

न्याय्यभाषात्कल्पनं संज्ञादिषु

In the case of designations mention of correct ones.

न्याय्यस्य ऋतकशब्दस्य भावात् कल्पनं संज्ञादिषु साधु मन्यन्ते, ऋतक एवासौ न लृतक इति । अपर आह—न्याय्य ऋतकशब्दः शास्त्रान्वितोऽस्ति स कल्पयितव्यः साधुः संज्ञादिषु, ऋतक एवासौ न लृतकः ।

Since there is the correct form in ऋतक, it is considered that only the correct forms should be used thus—he is ऋतक and not लृतक. Another thinks that, on hearing the word लृतक, the hearer should consider that it is the corrupt form of the grammatically correct word ऋतक.*

अयं तर्हि यदच्छाशब्दोऽपरिहार्यः—लृफिडः, लृफिडुश्चेति ।

This यदच्छाशब्द-लृफिडः or लृफिडुः cannot be avoided.

एषोऽपि ऋफिडः ऋफिडुश्च ।

This too is ऋफिड or ऋफिडु

कथम् ? How ?

अतिप्रवृत्तिश्चैव हि लोके लक्ष्यते । फिडफिडुवौणादिको प्रत्ययौ । त्रयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः—जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दा इति । न सन्ति यदच्छाशब्दाः

In the word the root ऋत् is used. फिड and फिडु are formatives that come under the *unādi*. The flow of words is only

* The word ऋतक is derived from the root ऋत्

threefold—*ज्ञातिशब्दाः*, *गुणशब्दाः* and *क्रियाशब्दाः*. There are no *yadrachāśabdāḥ*.

अन्यथा कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तम् अन्यथा कृत्वा परिहारः, सन्ति वदच्छाशब्दा इति कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तं न सन्तीति परिहारः । समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निर्वर्तको भवति, तद्यथा देवदत्तशब्दो देवदिष्णशब्दं निर्वर्तयति न गाव्यादीन्

The benefits were enumerated on the basis of one view and refutation is made on the basis of another view (i.e.) the benefits were enumerated on the strength of the view that there are *yadrachāśabdāḥ* and the refutation is on the strength of the view that there are no *yadrachāśabdāḥ*. A grammatically correct word can make one avoid another considered to be incorrect only if both have the same प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त* ; for instance the word *Dēvadatta* can be the correct form of *Dēvadiṣṇa* and not *gāvyādi*.

नैष दोषः, पक्षान्तैरपि परिहारा भवन्ति

This is no harm, for refutations are made even on the basis of different views.

Having refuted the first point that the mention of *लृ* is for the sake of *yadrachāśabdāḥ* he takes the second point for review.

अनुकरणं शिष्टाशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धेषु यथा लौकिकैवैदिकेषु

Imitation in the case of those that are enjoined or in the case of those neither enjoined nor prohibited—as in instances found in the world and the Vēdas.

* In the previous argument *लृ*क, *लृ*दि etc. were considered to be *yadrachāśabdāḥ* in the पूर्वपक्ष and to be *गुणशब्दाः* or *क्रियाशब्दाः* in the सिद्धान्त.

अनुकरणं हि शिष्टस्य वा (तत्) साधु भवति, अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धस्य वा, नैव तदोपाय भवति नाम्युदयाय, यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु—यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत्—य एवमसौ ददाति य एवमसौ यजते य एवमसावधीत इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् दद्याच्च यजेत चार्थायीत च सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते, वेदेऽपि य एवं विश्व-सृजः सन्नाप्यध्यासत इति तेषामनुकुर्वन् तद्वत्सन्नाप्यध्यासीत सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते । अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं यथा—य एवमसौ हिकति य एवमसौ हसति य एवमसौ कण्डूयति इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् हिकेच्च हसेच्च कण्डूयेच्च, नैव तदोपाय त्वात्राम्युदयाय । यस्तु खलु एवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां पिबति इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् ब्राह्मणं हन्नात् सुरां वा पिबेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

Imitation is either of the enjoined ones, which is good, or of that which is neither enjoined nor prohibited, which brings in neither demerit nor merit. As is found in those of the world and the Vēdas—as is found in the incidents of the world and the Vēdas. First in the world—he too who, seeing that another gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vēdas, imitates him and gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vēdas gets merit. In the Vēdas also—he who seeing *Viśvavarts* performing *sattras* imitates them and performs *sattras*, he too gets merit. That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited is illustrated thus—he who seeing another hiccupping, laughing or scratching in a peculiar fashion imitates him and hiccoughs, laughs or scratches in the same way gets neither merit nor demerit. Similarly he who seeing another killing a brahmin in a particular way and drinking wine in a peculiar fashion imitates him, kills a brahmin and drinks wine is, in my opinion, an apostate.

विषम उपन्यासः । यश्चैवं हन्ति यश्चानुहन्ति उभौ तौ हतः, यश्चापि पिबति यश्चानुपिबति उभौ तौ पिबतः । यस्तु खलु एवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां वा

पिबतीति तस्यानुकुर्वन् कालानुलिप्तः मान्यगुणकण्ठः कदलीन्तम्भं छिन्द्यात्* पयो वा पिबेत् न स मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

The argument is not sound. He who kills thus and he who kills in imitation both kill; he who drinks (wine) and he who drinks (wine) in imitation, both drink (wine). But, on the other hand, he who seeing another killing a brahmin cuts a plantain tree in the same way after taking a bath besmearing himself with sandal and wearing a garland in his neck or he who seeing another drinking wine drinks milk in the same way is not, in my opinion, an apostate.

एवमिहापि य एवमसौ अपशब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते इति तस्यानुकुर्वन्नपशब्दं प्रयुज्जीत सोऽप्यपशब्दभाक् स्यात् । अयं तु अन्योऽपशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दो यदर्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । न चापशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, यो हि मन्यते अपशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवतीति, अपशब्द इत्येव तस्यापशब्दः स्यात्, न चैषोऽपशब्दः

So also here he who seeing another using ungrammatical words uses the same gets demerit. This word is another which connotes the ungrammatical word, for which *upadēśa* is necessary.

* This refers to *kudali-vivāha* Cf.

अर्कोद्ग्राहो जटादीनामुच्यते तु यवोदसः ।

विवाहार्थं सुनिर्धेष्टस्तमुपवा दहेनदा ॥

व्याहृताभिस्तवा दत्त्वा यथाशक्ति हिरण्यकम् ।

काला सप्तदशान्विभेदादुद्वाहे न तृतीयके ॥

तृतीया स्त्री त्रियेच्छीघ्रं तस्मादेवं चरेद् बुधः ।

रम्भोदाहं तथा कुयोच्छ्रित्वा तत्रैव मानवः ॥

त्रिरात्रं सूतकं भयार्दितं बोधयनोऽब्रवीत् ॥

(Bodhāyana's *Grhya-sūtra*—5th *prāśna*—5th Chapter.)

and

Sāmaveda Grhya-pariśiṣṭa, prapāṭhaka 1—24.

The word which connotes an incorrect word is not incorrect. This should be clearly understood that he who thinks that the word which connotes an incorrect word is incorrect should have to say that the word अपराध is ungrammatical, which is not the case.

Mahābhāṣyakāra, taking recourse to the *nyāya* तुष्यतु दुर्जनः proceeds thus:— *

अयं खल्वपि मूयोऽनुकरणशब्दोऽपगृहीतः यदर्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः—साञ्चल-
कारमर्थति मञ्चलकारमधीते इति

Again this अनुकरणशब्द cannot be avoided for which ल should be read in the sūtra—साञ्चलकारमधीते, मञ्चलकारमधीते.

कस्यस्य पुनरेतदनुकरणम् ?

Where is this ल which is imitated found ?

कल्लपिस्त्व

In the word कल्ल.

यदि कल्लपिस्त्व, कल्लेश्च लत्वमसिद्धम्, तस्य असिद्धत्वात् ककार एवाच्चा-
र्याणि मविष्यन्ति

If it is of कल्ल, the / of कल्ल is *asiddha* and hence the vowel-
laws operate to क.

* Granting that the imitation of an incorrect word is also incorrect, he says that when one has to say that one studies लै well and that one studies लै in a fine manner, the sūtra इको यणचि has to operate and hence लै should find a place in the sūtra कल्ल.

भवेत्तदर्थेन नार्थः स्यात् । अयं त्वन्यः क्लृप्तिपदार्थकः शब्दः यदर्थे उपदेशः कर्तव्यः

It may be that it may not be useful on that behalf; but this word is one which connotes the letter in the word क्लृप्, for which there is need for the *upadeśa*.

न कर्तव्यः । इदमवश्यं कर्तव्यम्* 'प्रकृतिवदनुकरणम् भवति' इति

This need not be done. This should be accepted that the imitator is like the imitated.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

द्विः पचन्वित्याह, तिङ्ङितिङ्ङ इति निघातो यथा स्यात्, अग्नी इत्याह ईद्वेद्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्† इति प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा यथा स्यात्

In the expression द्विः पचन्तु इत्याह the verb पचन्तु should have all its syllables unaccented by the operation of the rule तिङ्ङितिङ्ङः. In the expression अग्नी इत्याह, अग्नी should get the प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा by the operation of the rule ईद्वेद्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्.

यदि प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीत्युच्यते अपशब्द एवासौ भवति कुमार्यल्लतक इत्याह ब्राह्मण्यल्लतक इत्याह, अपशब्दो ह्यस्य प्रकृतिः । न चापशब्दः प्रकृतिः, न अपशब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते, न चानुपदिष्टा प्रकृतिरस्ति ।

If the principle प्रकृतिवदनुकरणम् is conceded, the word ल्लतक in the expressions कुमार्यल्लतक इत्याह, ब्राह्मण्यल्लतक इत्याह will become an *apaśabda*, since its प्रकृति is *apaśabda*. *Apaśabda* cannot be taken as *prakṛti*; for *apaśabdās* are not read, and that which is not read is not *prakṛti*.

* कर्तव्यम् is another reading.

† ईद्वेद्विवचनं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा भवति is another reading.

From the above it is clear that, according to *Vārttikakāra*, imitator also is *apaśabda* and hence लृ need not be read in the *sūtra* on that score. According to *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, imitator of an *apaśabda* is not an *apaśabda* and the principle प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति cannot operate here and hence लृ should be read in the *sūtra*.

Having refuted the first two, he takes the third point for review.

एकदेशविकृतमन्यत्वात्पुत्यादयः

Pluti and others on account of the principle एकदेशविकृतमन्यवत्

एकदेशविकृतमन्यवद्भवतीति पुत्यादयोऽपि भविष्यन्ति

An object which is maimed a little is nothing but the same and hence *pluti* and others will appear.

यद्येकदेशविकृतमन्यवद्भवतीत्युच्यते राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपोऽन इति लोपः शामोति ।

If the principle एकदेशविकृतमन्यवद्भवति is conceded, the अ after ज्ञ in राजकीयम् which is the result of राज्ञः क च will have to be dropped on account of the operation of the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः

एकदेशविकृतमन्यवत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य *

The principle एकदेशविकृतमन्यवद्भवति applies to that which is indicated by the genitive case, †

* एकदेशविकृतमन्यवत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य इति वक्ष्यामि is another reading.

† In the *sūtra* राज्ञः क च, only the word राज्ञः is indicated by the genitive case, while the elision of अ is enjoined only to अनु on the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः

यदि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येत्युच्यते क्लृप्तशिव इति प्लुतो न प्राप्नोति, न ह्यत्र ऋकारः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः।

If it is said that it holds good only to that which is indicated by the genitive case, *pluta* of ! in क्लृप्तशिव cannot be got, since here (in the *sūtra* कृपो रो लः) *r* is not indicated by the genitive case.

कस्तर्हि ? What then ?

रेफः *r*.

ऋकारोऽप्यत्र षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः ।

R also is here indicated by the genitive case.

कथम् ? How ?

प्रविभक्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः लः कृपो रो लः इति ।

Mention of the stem with the case-suffix elided so that कृपो रो लः is split thus— कृप, उः, रः लः *

अथवा पुनस्तु अविशेषण

Or let the *nyāya* एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति apply without any reservation.

स्तु चेत्तं राज्ञः क्व च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपोऽनः इति लोपः प्राप्नोति इति

Has it not been said that the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः will operate in the word राजकीयम् which is got by the operation of the *sūtra* राज्ञः क्व च ?

* The word कृपो is split as कृप and उः where कृप is the stem without the genitive case-suffix and उः is the genitive case of ऋ.

नैष दोषः, वक्ष्येत् श्वादीनां प्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणमनकारान्तप्रति-
षेधार्थम् इति, (*Vārttika* under VI-4-133) तत्सकृतमुच्यमानुवर्तिष्यते, अल्लो-
पोऽनः (VI. 4. 134) नकारान्तस्येति

It is no harm. He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to say this—that the comprehension of नकारान्त in the *sūtra* अयुवमघेनामतस्विते (VI-4-133) dealing with the सम्प्रसारण of अन् etc. is to prohibit those which are not नकारान्त. The same नकारान्तस्य is repeated in the following *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः

इह तर्हि क्लृप्तिशेषः, अनृत इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

In the case of क्लृप्तिशेषः, then, the prohibition by अनृतः (in the *sūtra* गुरोरनृतोऽनन्त्यस्य . . . VII-2-86) will operate.

स्वप्रतिषेधाच्च

By the prohibition of those which have r.

स्वप्रतिषेधाच्चैतस्मिन् गुरोरस्वतः इति वक्ष्यामि

Then the desired object is accomplished by prohibiting those which have r and hence I shall read अस्वतः instead of अनृतः in that *sūtra*.

अस्वत इत्युच्यते होतृ ऋकारः होतृ ऋकारः अत्र न प्राप्नोति

If अस्वतः is read, the *pluta* in होतृ ऋकारः which is the result of the combination होतृ and ऋकारः will not take place.

गुरोरस्वतो ह्रस्वस्य इति वक्ष्यामि

Then shall I read गुरोरस्वतो ह्रस्वस्य.

स एष सूत्रभेदेन लृकारोपदेशः प्लुत्यार्थः सन् प्रत्याख्यायते, सैषा महतो वंशस्तम्बात् लृत्वानुकुप्यते

This लृकारोपदेश which is for the sake of *pluti* is rejected by taking recourse to the remodelling of the *sūtra* गुरोरनुतः...; this is like taking hold of a small bird called लट्वा from bamboo-bush.

From the last sentence it is clear that the *Mahābhāṣyākāra* favours the view that the *upadēśa* of लृकार is necessary and that the flow of words is fourfold. Some think that this is a sort of satirical utterance of *Māhābhāṣyākāra* against *Vārlikākāra*. From the preface it may be learnt that it is not so, but it is only a fact stated in a humorous fashion.

एओइ, ऐऔच्.

There are only three topics that are dealt with here:—(1) whether the purpose is served by reading the *sūtras* as एओइ, and ऐऔच् or whether they have to be read as एत् ओत् इ and ऐत् औत् च् (2) whether the word दीर्घ is to be read in *sūtras* which enjoin एच् as *śkāḍēśa* and (3) whether such sounds as form part of diphthongs, long vowels, *r* and *l*, and as are similar to others are to be taken as their limbs or not.

1

इदं विचार्यते इमानि सन्ध्यस्त्राणि तपराणि वा उपदिश्येरन् एत् ओत् इ, ऐत् औत् च् इति, अतपराणि वा यथान्यासम् इति

This is discussed whether these diphthongs have to be read with त् following each as एत् ओत् इ, ऐत् औत् च् or without त् as they are now.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is here the difference ?

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणम्

Need for reading ऋ at the end if the diphthongs have to be followed by त्.

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणं कर्तव्यम्

If the diphthongs have to be followed by त्, त् has to be read at the end.

प्लुत्यादिष्वजिधिः

Rules relating to अच् (will not apply) to *pluta* and others.

प्लुत्यादिषु अजाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति, गोश्वात् नौश्वात् इत्यत्र अनचि च इति अच् उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवत इति द्विर्वचनं न प्राप्नोति, इह च प्रत्यङ्ङैश्चैतिकायन उदङ्ङैश्चैपगव इति अचि इति ङमुडागमो न प्राप्नोति

In the case of *pluta* and others the rules relating to अच् will not operate. For instance the doubling of त् in गोश्वात् and नौश्वात् by the application of the rule अनचि च cannot take place;* so also the doubling of इ in प्रत्यङ्ङैश्चैतिकायन and उदङ्ङैश्चैपगव cannot take place since इ should be followed by an अच्.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च

Even the symbol *pluta*.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च न सिध्यति, ऐश्चैतिकायन, औश्चैपगव, उक्कालोऽल्लङ्घ्यस्वदीर्घप्लुतः इति प्लुतसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति

Even the symbol *pluta* cannot operate. For instance in ऐश्चैतिकायन and औश्चैपगव, ऐश्च and औश्च cannot get the designation

* The reason is that ओश्च and औश्च are not comprehended by the *pratyāhāra* अच्.

plots since *phulasaṃjñā* is enjoined only to an अच् in the *sūtra*
ऊकालोऽवृद्धस्वर्दीर्घेऽनुतः.

सन्तु तर्हि अतपराणि

If so, let them be not followed by त्.

अतपर एच इग्रस्वादेशे

If they are not followed by त्, there is the need for the *sūtra*
एच इग्रस्वादेशे.

अतपराणि एच इग्रस्वादेशे इति वक्तव्यम्

If they are not तपर, the *sūtra* एच इग्रस्वादेशे has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

एचो द्वस्वादेशशामनेष्वर्धे एकारोऽर्धे ओकारो वा मा मृत् इति

So that 'half e' and 'half o' may not be used when the rules
relating to the shortening of long vowels operate.

तु च यस्यापि तपराणि तेनाप्येतद्वक्तव्यम्; इमावैचौ समाहारवर्णौ मात्रा-
वर्णस्य मात्रावर्णोदणयोः । तयोर्द्वस्वादेशशामनेषु कदाचिदवर्णः स्यात् कदाचिदिवर्णोवर्णौ,
मा कदाचित् अवर्ण भूत् इति

Oh! this has to be read even when one reads the diphthongs
with त् at the end. The two letters which come under the
pratyāhāra ऐच् are diphthongs having one *mātrā* for *a* and
another *mātrā* for *i* or *u*. Hence when rules relating to
shortening operate, sometimes *a* may be substituted and
sometimes *i* or *u*. They have to avoid the substitution of *a*.

प्रत्याख्यायत एतत् ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् इति

This will be set aside by the *vārttika* ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् *

यदि प्रत्याख्यायतः, इदमपि प्रत्याख्यायते सिद्धमेकः सस्थानत्वात् इति

If the view that it may be rejected is held, this too is rejected by the *vārttika* सिद्धमेकः सस्थानत्वात् †

ननु चैकः सस्थानतरावर्ध एकारोऽर्धः ओकारश्च ?

Is it not that 'half e' and 'half o' have their organ of articulation closer to that of *ē* and *ō* than *i* and *u*?

न तौ स्तः, यदि हि तौ स्यातां तावेवायमुपदिशेत्

They two do not exist. If they were to exist, he would have read them alone.

ननु च गोः छन्दोगानां सात्यमुग्निराणायनीया अर्धमेकारसर्धमेकारं चाधीयते—
सुजाते ए अश्वसूते, अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए
अन्यत् इति

Oh Sir, those who belong to सात्यमुग्निराणा and राणायनीयशाखा among *Sāmavedins* read 'half e' and half o viz. सुजाते ए अश्वसूते, अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए अन्यत्

* This *vārttika* means this:—when *ai* or *au* is shortened, only *i* and *u* will be substituted since only those two elements predominate in them.

† This means thus:—The desired object is achieved since *ē* and *ō* have the same organ of articulation as *i* and *u* and hence if they are shortened, only *i* and *u* will take their place.

प्राप्यकृतिषा तत्रभवताम् । नैव हि लोके नान्यस्मिन् वेदेष्वेकादश
 ओंकारो वास्ति

It is the work of a class of revered people. Neither in ordinary usage nor in any other *vēda* do we find 'half e' or 'half o'.

From this it is evident that there are three defects if the *sūtras* एओइ and ऐऔच are read with न् at their end and there is no defect if they are read as एओइ and ऐऔच् in both the cases whether the *sūtra* एच इग्रस्वादेशे is *pratyākhyāta* or not.*

* There are *two* points of view regarding the organ of articulation and *three* points of view regarding the composition of ऐ and औ.

Kātyāyana Prātisākhya and *Taittirīya Prātisākhya* take ए to be a *palatal* vowel like ई and औ a *labial* vowel like उ.

Cf. इत्येवमस्तौ (वा. प्रा. I, 66) उवोपपन्ना ओष्ठे (*ibid* I, 70).

ततो विहृत्यन्त्रिणौ (वै. प्रा. II 22);

एकौ च (*ibid*, II 23) ओष्ठोपसंहर उवणे (*ibid*, II 24.)

ओष्ठो च, ओष्ठौ तुपसंहृतौ (*ibid*, II 13 & 14.)

Kātyāyana seems to favour this view.

Cf. the *vārtika* एःतस्यन्त्रिणः.

But *Pīnīniya Śikṣā* takes ए and औ as *gutturo-palatal* vowel and *gutturo-labial* vowel respectively.

Cf. ए ऐ नु, कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोद्गर्जो स्वरौ.

As regards ऐ and औ some consider that the *a* element is one *mātrā* and *i* or *u* element is also one *mātrā*.

Cf. मात्रा अर्चयन् मात्रा इवोवर्णयोः The grammarian वाङ्म seems to take this view. [M. B. under 'सुतवैव इदुतौ' (VII—2—106.)] Some consider that the *a* element is half *a mātrā* and *i* or *u* element is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mātrās*. *Taittirīya-prātisākhya*, and *Kātyāyana* favour this view.

Cf. अक्षरार्थसु ऐकारैश्चरोराइः (वै. प्रा. II. 26.)

इच्छरोऽन्त्र्यः पूर्वस्य शेषः (*ibid* II. 23);

उकारस्तन्मय (*ibid* II. 29);

ऐनोऽक्षरमपस्वान् [(*Vārtika* under एच इग्रस्वादेशे (I. 1-48)]

II

एकादेशे दीर्घग्रहणम्

Mention of the word दीर्घः in एकादेशः.

एकादेशे दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, आद्गुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घ इति

In the *sūtras* enjoining the substitution of one letter for two, the word दीर्घः should be mentioned as आद्गुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घः

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

आन्तर्यतन्निमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा मा भवन्निति, खट्वा+इन्द्रः=खट्वेन्द्रः, खट्वा+उदकम्=खट्वोदकम्, खट्वा+ईषा=खट्वेषा, खट्वा+उदा=खट्वोदा, खट्वा+एलका=खट्वैलका, खट्वा+ओदनः=खट्वौदनः, खट्वा+ऐतिकायनः=खट्वैतिकायनः, खट्वा+औपगवः=खट्वौपगवः इति

The *sūtra* ऐकारौकारयोः कष्ट्या पूर्वा मात्रा तालोष्ठ्योरुत्तरा (क. प्रा. 1, 73) seems to mean that अ in ऐ and औ is one *mātrā* and इ or उ is one *mātrā*. But the commentator has commented upon it in different ways. Some consider that the *a* element is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mātrās* and *i* or *u* element is half a *mātrā*.

Cf. अवर्धमात्रा अवर्णस्य अर्धमात्रा इवर्णवर्णयोः [M. B. under प्लुतावैच इदृती (VIII. 2—100.)]

Philologists favour this view since ऐ and औ are represented by the symbols *ai* and *au*. That this should have been the original pronunciation is seen by the fact that they change to *ay* and *au* in *sandhi*. The modern pronunciation with *a* having one *mātrā* and *i* or *u* also having one *mātrā* may have been due to the influence of Dravidian Languages.

Cf. *Akara* (*kara m-āikāra m-āikam*. (Tolkappiyam I. 54.)

Akara ukara m-āukāra m-āukam (ibid. I. 55.)

Dr. A. A. MacDonell says that ऐ and औ were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of *Prātisākhya*s (M. V. G. 15-4.) But the *Prātisākhya*s which have been published till now do not seem to express this definitely.

According to the second view favoured by *Kātyāyana* the *sūtra* एन इग्रस्वदेशे is unnecessary.

Ādēśas of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* in the following:—खद्वा+इन्द्रः . . . खद्वौपगवः

तर्हि दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word दीर्घ should be read.

न कर्तव्यम् । उपरिष्ठाद् योगविभागे करिष्यते—अकः सवर्णे, एको भवति, ततो दीर्घः, दीर्घश्च स भवति यः स एकः पूर्वपरयोस्त्येवं निर्दिष्ट इति

It need not be read; for the *sūtra* अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः which comes later on is split into two *sūtras* अकः सवर्णे and दीर्घः. The former means that when *ak* is followed by a *like* letter, it is replaced by one letter; and the latter means that the letter which has replaced two letters is the long letter.

इहापि तर्हि ब्राम्होति, पशुम् विद्धम् पचन्ति इति

If so, the same will happen in the words पशुम्, विद्धम् and पचन्ति.

नैष दोषः; इह तावत्पशुमिति—अस्येकः इतीयता सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं यथाजातीयकः पूर्वस्तथाजातीयक उभयो-
र्यथा स्यात् इति; विद्धमिति—पूर्वं इत्येवानुवर्तते; अथवा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति
नानेन संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवतीति, यदयं हल उत्तरस्य संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घत्वं शास्ति;
पचन्ति इति—अतो गुणे पर इतीयता सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यद्वृत्तग्रहणं
करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं यथाजातीयकं परस्य रूपे तथाजातीयकमुभयोर्ग्रथा स्यात् इति

No, here is no harm. First we shall take पशुम्—the result will be achieved by reading the *sūtra* अमि पूर्वः (6—1—107) as अमि एकः. That being so, the *Sūtrakāra* has read the word पूर्वः, which suggests that the *ādēśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the former of the two. We shall then take विद्धम्—The word पूर्व is taken here [in the *sūtra* संप्रसारणाच्च

(6—1—108)]. Or the mention of the *sūtra* हलः (6—4—2) by the *Sūtrakāra* enjoining the lengthening of the *samprasāraṇa* after a consonant suggests that the lengthening does not operate upon the *samprasāraṇa* resulting from this *sūtra*. Then shall we take पचन्ति. The object is achieved by taking in the *sūtra* अतो गुणे (6—1—97) the word पर alone. When such is the case, the word पररूपम् is taken here [from the *sūtra* एङि पररूपम् (6—1—94)] which suggests that the *ādēśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the latter of the two.

इह तर्हि खद्वश्यो मालश्ये इति दीर्घवचनादकारो न, अनान्तर्वादेकारौ-
कारौ न

Here then in खद्वश्यः (खदवा+ऋश्यः), मालश्यः (माला+ऋश्यः), *a* cannot be the *ādēśa* since it has been said that a long letter should come there and *ē* and *ō* cannot be the *ādēśa* since they are not similar.

तत्र को दोषः ?

What will be the harm there ?

विगृहीतस्य श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

There will be the possibility for the absence of *sandhi*.

न ब्रूमो वयं यत् क्रियमाणे दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We do not say that we shall take recourse to it where we meet with difficulty.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

यत्र क्रियमाणे न दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We should take recourse to it where we meet with no difficulty by it.

क च क्रियमाणे न दोषः ?

Where do we not meet with difficulty by taking recourse to it ?

संज्ञाविधौ, वृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घः, अदेङ् गुणो दीर्घः इति

In *saṃjñāvidhi* like वृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घः, अदेङ् गुणो दीर्घः

तर्हि दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word दीर्घ should be read.

न कर्तव्यम्

No, it need not.

कस्मादेव आन्तर्यतः त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति ?

How will not the *ādeśas* of three or four *mātrās* replace the *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* by adopting the principle of similarity ?

तपरे गुणवृद्धौ

The *guṇa* and *vrddhi* letters are associated with त्

ननु च तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः ?

Is not तपर a *bahuvrīhi* compound ?

नेत्याह, तादपि परस्तपर इति

No, says he. It is also a *talpuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः, ऋदोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः, स्तवः, लवः, पवः इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* ऋदेशप् will operate only with respect to यवः and स्तवः and not with respect to लवः and पवः.

नैष तकारः

This is not *takāra*.

कस्तर्हि ?

What then ?

दकारः *Dakāra*.

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use of reading दकार ?

अथ किं तकारे ? यद्यसन्देहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ सुस्तसुस्वार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि इति

What is the use of reading *takāra* ? If it is to avoid doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

III

इदं विचार्यते—य एतेषु वर्णेषु वर्णैकदेशा वर्णान्तरसमानाकृतय एतेषामवयवग्रहणेन ग्रहणं स्याद्वा न वा—इति

This is discussed whether in these letters (आ, ई, ऊ, ऋ, ए, ऐ, ओ and औ) their parts which resemble other letters operate like the latter (in *sandhi* etc.) or not.

कुतः पुनरियं विचारणा ?

Wherefrom does this discussion arise ?

इह हि समुदाया अप्युपादिश्यन्ते अवयवा अपि । अन्वन्तरश्च समुदायेऽवयवः,
तथा-वृक्षः प्रचलन् महावयवैः प्रचलति; तत्र समुदायस्थावयवस्य अवयवग्रहणेन
ग्रहणं स्याद्वा न वेति जायते विचारणा ।

Here (in the *Mahābhāṣya sūtras*) are read both wholes (like मे, औ, ऊ, etc.) and parts (like अ, इ, ए, etc.). Part is evidently within the whole. viz. A tree, when it moves, moves with its parts. Now the need for the discussion whether the parts of the whole operate or not like those which they resemble, arises.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here ?

वर्णकदेशा वर्णग्रहणेन चेत् सन्व्यक्षरे समानाक्षराश्रयो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रति-
षेध्य-अग्ने+इन्द्र, वायो+उदक्म् अकः सवर्णे दीर्घे इति दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति

If the parts of letters operate like those which they resemble, the rules relating to *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū*, will operate with diphthongs. For example in the *sandhi* of अग्ने+इन्द्र and वायो+उदक्म्, the *sūtra* अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः will operate.

दीर्घे ह्रस्वविधिप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of rules relating to short letters with long ones.

दीर्घे ह्रस्वाश्रयो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिषेध्यः—आलृय, प्रलृय, ह्रस्वस्य पिति
कृति तुक् भवतीति तुक् प्राप्नोति

Rules relating to short letters will have chance to operate with reference to the corresponding long ones and it is to be prohibited. For example in the words आलृय and प्रलृय the *sūtra* ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् will have chance to operate and तुक् will appear there.

नैष दोषः, आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न दीर्घे इस्वाग्रयो विधिमन्वर्तानि, यदयं दीर्घा-
च्छे तुक् शास्ति

It is no harm, for the *Ācārya's* procedure suggests that the long letters are not to be affected by the rules relating to short ones since he reads the *sūtra* दीर्घात् which enjoins तुक् after a long letter.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति अन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is another use of this *sūtra*.

किम्? What?

पदान्ताद्वा इति विभाषां वक्ष्यामि इति

To introduce the reader to his *sūtra* पदान्ताद्वा where he enjoins the optional use of तुक्.

यतर्हि योगविभागं करोति, इतरथा हि दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा इत्येव ब्रूयात्

Since he has read them as two *sūtras*, (we have to take the former to be a *jñāpaka*); for, otherwise he would have read दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा as one *sūtra*.

इह तर्हि खट्वाभिः, मालाभिः, अतो भिस ऐस् इत्येवभावः प्राप्नोति

If so, in the words खट्वाभिः and मालाभिः, the case-suffix *āis* will come on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो भिस ऐस्.

तपरकरणसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति

It does not come on account of तपरकरण.

तर्हि याता वाता, अतो लोप आर्धधातुके इत्यकारलोपः प्राप्नोति

If so, in the words याता and वाता, the elision of अकार will take place on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो लोप आर्धधातुके.

ननु चात्रापि तपरकरणसामर्थ्यादेव न भविष्यति

Oh ! even here it does not come on account of तपरकरण itself.

अस्ति ह्यन्यत्तपरकरणे प्रयोजनम्

No, for there is another benefit accruing from तपरकरण.

किम् ? What ?

सर्वस्य लोपो मा भूदिति

So that the elision of the whole may not take place.

अथ कियमाणेऽपि तपरे परस्य लोपे कृते पूर्वस्य कस्माच्च भवति ?

Even if there is तपरकरण, why is not the preceding letter dropped after the elision of the succeeding letter ?

परलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावादसिद्धत्वाच्च

On account of the स्थानिवद्भाव of the elision of the succeeding element and its being असिद्ध.

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न आकारस्थस्याकारस्य लोपो भवतीति, यद्यम् आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

If so, ācārya's procedure suggests that a in ā is not elided since he reads the anubandha क् in the sūtra आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as a jñāpaka ?

कित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनम् कितीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्यात् इति । यथाकारस्थस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् कित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्—परस्य अकारस्य लोपे कृते द्वयोरकारयोः पररूपे हि सिद्धं रूपं स्याद् गोदः कम्बलदः इति— । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नाकारस्थस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यादिति ; अतः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of कित्करण that the elision of *ā* may take place on account of the mention of किति. If the *a* in *ā* can be elided, कित्करण will be of no use—when the succeeding *a* is elided, and when there is पररूप with respect to the two *a*'s the forms गोदः and कम्बलदः are formed.—The *ācārya* sees that *a* in *ā* is not elided and hence uses the *anubandha* क्.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । उत्तरार्थमेतत् स्यात् तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः इति

This is not a *ज्ञापका*. This is for the sake of the following *sūtra* तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः .

यत्तर्हि गापोष्टक् इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

If so, he reads the अकार with the *anubandha* क् in the *sūtra* गापोष्टक् which serves no other purpose.

एकवर्णवच

As one letter too.

एकवर्णवच दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It should also be said that long letter is taken as one letter.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

वाचा तरतीति द्व्यलक्षणयन्मा भूदिति; इह च वाचो निमित्तं तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ इत्यनुवर्तमाने गो द्व्यचः . . . इति द्व्यलक्षणो यन्मा भूदिति

So that the suffix *than* which takes place after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* नौद्व्यचष्टन् may not appear in the word वाचिक which means वाचा तरति and so that यत् which comes after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* गो द्व्यचः . . . in the sense of निमित्त of संयोग or उत्पात which is taken there from the *sūtra* तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ may not come after the word वाच् when the meaning वाचो निमित्तम् has to be conveyed.

अत्रापि गोनौग्रहणं ज्ञापकं, दीर्घाद् द्वयञ्जल्लक्षणो विधिर्न भवति इति

Even here the mention of the two words गो and नौ suggests that the *sūtras* dealing with dissyllables do not operate in a long vowel.

अयं तु सर्वेषामेव परिहारः —

This will serve as an answer to meet all the points raised against.

नान्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य तद्विधिर्यथा द्रव्येषु

Their rules do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters but are not taken cognisance of as separate from the whole, as in *dravyas*.

नान्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य अवयवाश्रयो विधिर्भवति यथा द्रव्येषु । तथा—द्रव्येषु सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्तीति न सप्तदशरत्निमात्रं काष्ठमग्नावभ्यर्धीयते

The rules of those letters do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters, but are not taken cognisance of as such, as in *dravyas*. For instance in the case of *dravyas*, the purpose of the rule सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्ति is not satisfied when a wood seventeen cubits long is thrown on fire.

विषम उपन्यासः, प्रत्युच्चं चैव हि तत्कर्म चोद्यते, असम्भवश्चाग्नौ वेदां च

The argument is not sound. The *karma* is enjoined with reference to every *rk* and it is impossible either for the fire or for the altar to hold it.

यथा तर्हि सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रीराश्वत्थीः समिधोऽग्न्यादधीत इति न सप्तदशप्रादेश-मात्रं काष्ठमग्नावभ्यर्धीयते

If so, the purpose of the rule सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रीराश्वत्थीः समिधोऽग्न्यादधीत is not satisfied when a wood seventeen spans long is thrown into the fire.

अत्रापि प्रतिप्रणवं चैतत्कर्म नोद्यते, तुल्यश्वासंभवोऽग्नौ वेद्या च

Even here the *karma* is enjoined with reference to the recital of *pranava* each time and it is impossible for the fire or the altar to hold it.

यथा तर्हि तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं, मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम् इति व्यपवृत्तं च न विक्रीयते
अव्यपवृत्तं गावः सर्पपाश्च विक्रीयन्ते; तथा लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यमिति
व्यपवृत्तं स्पृष्ट्वा नियोगतः कर्तव्यम्, अव्यपवृत्ते कामचारः

If so, as, when it is said that oil should not be sold and that meat should not be sold, they are not sold when they are separated from the whole, but the cows and mustard wherein they are not separated are sold, and as, when it is said that one should purify himself on touching hair and nail, it is *obligatory* to do it on touching them when they are separated from the body and it does not matter whether one touches them or not when they are not separated from the body, (so is here also).

यत्र तर्हि व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति ?

What will be the case where there is व्यपवर्ग ?

क च व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति ?

Where is व्यपवर्ग ?

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु

In diphthongs.

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु विवृतत्वात्

(Not) in diphthongs, on account of openness.

यदत्र अवर्णं विवृततरं तदन्यस्मात् अवर्णात्, ये अपि द्वर्णोवर्णे विवृततरे ते
अन्याभ्यामिवर्णोवर्णाभ्याम्

No, there is no व्यपचर्ग in diphthongs on account of विवृतत्व. The *a* here is more open than *a* elsewhere and the *i* and *u* here are more open than *i* and *u* elsewhere.

अथवा पुनर्न गृह्यन्ते

Or वर्णकदेशः are not considered to be those which they resemble.

अग्रहणं चेत् नुद्विधिलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारग्रहणम्

If it is not taken so, the reading of the letter *r* after the *sūtras* enjoining नुद, लादेश and णत्व.

अग्रहणं चेत् नुद्विधिलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारस्य ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । तस्मान्नुद्विहलः ऋकारे चेति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् आनुधतुः आनुधुः इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते द्विहल इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

If वर्णकदेशः are not considered to be those which they resemble, the letter *r* should be read after the *sūtras* enjoining नुद, लादेश and णत्व. After the *sūtra* तस्मान्नुद्विहलः, ऋकारे च should be read, so that the forms आनुधतुः and आनुधुः may be got. By him who holds the वर्णकदेशग्रहणपक्ष, it is achieved by the word द्विहलः itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते, तस्याप्येष न दोषः । द्विहलग्रहणं न करिष्यते, तस्मान्नुद्विहलः भवतीत्येव

It is no harm even to him who holds the अग्रहणपक्ष. The word द्विहलः is not read and the *sūtra* becomes तस्मान्नुद.

यदि न कियते आटुः आटुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is not read, नुद will appear in आटुः and आटुः

अश्रोतिग्रहणं त्रियमार्थं भविष्यति, अश्रोतेरेव अवर्णोपधस्य नान्यस्य अवर्णोपधस्येति

The mention of अश्नोति (in the *sūtra* अश्नोतिश्च 7-4-72) is to restrict its application that रुद occurs only to अश् which has अ as its penultimate and not to similar roots which have अ as their penultimate.

लादेशे च ऋकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्—कृपो रो लः, ऋकारस्य च इति वक्तव्यम्—
इहापि यथा स्यात् कल्लः कल्लवान् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते र इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

R should be read after *sūtras* dealing with लादेश thus—कृपो रो लः, ऋकारस्य च so that लादेश may take place here also—in कल्लः and कल्लवान् . By him who holds the ग्रहणपक्ष, it is achieved by the word रः itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येव न दोषः । ऋकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते

It is no harm even to him who holds अग्रहणपक्ष. The word ऋकार also is read here.

कथम्? How?

अविमक्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः लः कृपो रो ल इति

Mention without case-suffix thus—कृप उः रः लः

अथवा उभयतः स्फोटमालं निर्दिश्यते—रश्रुतेर्लश्रुतिर्भवति इति

Or the genus is denoted in both—r becomes l *

विनामे ऋकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ऋकाराच्च इति वक्तव्यम्—इहापि यथा स्यात् मातृणां पितृणाम् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते रषाभ्याम् इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

* र in क of कृप् becomes ल found in ल so that कल्लप is formed from कृप् and र becomes ल so that कल्पित is formed from कृप्.

क should be read after the *sūtra* dealing with णत्व thus—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे, ऋकाराच्च so that णत्व may occur even here—in मातृणाम्, पितृणाम्. To him who holds the ग्रहणपक्ष, the object is achieved by the word रषाभ्याम्.

न सिध्यति, यत्तद्रेफात्परं भक्तेः, तेन व्यवहितत्वाच्च प्राप्नोति

No, it is not achieved since न (in मातृणां and पितृणाम्) is separated from र the former part of ऋ by its latter part.

भा भूदेवम्, अह्वयवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्

Let it not be so; it is achieved by the *sūtra* अदकुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेऽपि.

न सिध्यति No, it is not.

वर्णैकदेशः के वर्णग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते ?

Which वर्णैकदेशः are taken like वर्णः ?

ये व्यपवृक्ता अपि वर्णा भवन्ति

Those which exist as वर्णः even outside them.

यच्चापि रेफात्परं भक्तेः, न तत्कचिदपि व्यपवृक्तं दृश्यते

That element which is after र in ऋ is not found anywhere as a separate letter.

एवं तर्हि योगविभागः कल्प्यते—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ततो व्यवाये व्यवाये च रषाभ्यां नो णो भवतीति, ततः अदकुप्वाङ्नुम्विः इति

If so the *sūtra* is split thus—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे and then व्यवाये (even when separated by others n becomes ñ after र and ष in a single word)—and then अदकुप्वाङ्नुम्विः.

इदमिदानीं किमर्थम् ?

What is this for now ?

नियमार्थम् । एतैरेवाक्षरसमाम्नायिकैर्व्याये नान्येरिति

For the sake of *niyama*, so that (it may take place) only when they are separated by only these letters of वर्णसमाम्नाय and none else.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवति ककाराज्ञो णत्वमिति, यदयं क्षुब्धादिषु नृनमनशब्दं पठति

It is no harm even to him who holds the अग्रहणपक्षः.—The use of *ācārya* suggests that *n* becomes *ṇ* after क since he reads the word नृनमन in क्षुब्धादिगण.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, वृद्धयर्थमेतत्स्यात् नार्नमनिः—

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*. It is there for the sake of *ṇ* in नार्नमनिः :

यत्तर्हि तृप्तेतिशब्दं पठति

If so, he reads तृप्तेति*.

यच्चापि नृनमनशब्दं पठति

Or as he reads नृनमन.

ननु चोक्तं वृद्धयर्थमेतत्स्यात् :

Has it not been said that it is for the sake of *ṇ* ?

बहिरक्षा वृद्धिः, अन्तरङ्गं णत्वम्, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गम् अन्तरङ्गे

* तृप्तेति is found only in पाठान्तर.

Vṛddhi is बहिरङ्ग and *natva* is अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग is *asiddha* when अन्तरङ्गकार्य is to be done.

अथवा उपरिष्ठाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते—ऋतः—नो णो भवति, ततः—छन्द-
स्यवग्रहात्—ऋत इत्येव

Or the *sūtra* छन्दस्युद्वग्रहात् which comes later on is split into-
ऋतः and छन्दस्यवग्रहात्; the former is taken to mean ऋतो नो णो
भवति and the word ऋतः is taken to follow in the succeeding
sūtra also.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ

The *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (is necessary).

एतच्च वक्तव्यम् । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते गुरोष्टेः इत्येव प्लुत्या तस्य सिद्धम्

The *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ has also to be read. For him who
holds अग्रहणपक्ष, its purpose is served by गुरोष्टेः.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः, क्रियते न्यास एव *

It is no harm even to him who holds अग्रहणपक्ष since the *sūtra*
itself is read (by the *Sūtrakāra*).

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनविधिः

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant
followed by the same.

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति—कुक्कुटः, पिप्पली, पित्तम्
इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते तस्य द्वौ ककारौ, द्वौ पकारौ, द्वौ तकारौ

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one conso-
nant followed by the same will not take place, as in कुक्कुटः,

* क्रियते एतन्न्यास एव is another reading.

पिप्पली and पिप्पलम्. For him who holds the ग्रहणपक्ष there are two ककारs, two पकारs and two तकारs.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्यापि द्वौ ककारौ द्वौ पकारौ द्वौ तकारौ

Even for him who holds अग्रहणपक्ष, there are two ककारs, two पकारs and two तकारs.

कथम्? How?

मात्राकालोऽत्र गम्यते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

The time taken by *mātrās* is here taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *mātrā*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छक्यते वक्तुं यत्रैतन्नास्ति अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति, इह तु कथं सय्ययन्ता, सर्व्वत्सरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम्, इति यत्रैतत् अस्त्यण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति ?

Even though it is possible to say so where the principle अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति does not operate, how can it be here in सय्ययन्ता, सर्व्वत्सरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम् where the same principle operates?

अत्रापि मात्राकालो गृह्यते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

Even here the time taken by *mātrās* is taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *mātrā*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

हयवरद्

Six topics are dealt with here. They are (1) the need for reading ह in two *sūtras* (2) which is better—हयवरद् or हरयवद् ? (3) since अयोगवाहs are not read in प्रत्याहारसूत्रs, where are they to be taken to have been read ? (4) do letters have meaning or not ? (5) why are not *anubandhas* in प्रत्याहार taken as अच् ? and (6) why should semi-vowels be mentioned in the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

I

सर्वे वर्णाः सङ्गदुपदिष्टाः, अयं हकारो द्विरुपदिश्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च । यदि पुनः पूर्व एवोपदिश्येत पर एव वा, कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

All letters are read once; this हकार is read twice before * and after.† If it is read either before or after, what would have been the difference ?

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अङ्ग्रहणेषु हङ्ग्रहणम्

Hakāra being read after, mention of *hakāra* in *sūtras* mentioning अद्.

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अङ्ग्रहणेषु हङ्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, आतोऽटि नित्यम्, अच्छोऽटि दीर्घादटि समानपादे हकारे च इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्वात् महौ हि सः

If *hakāra* is read after, mention has to be made of *hakāra* wherever the *pratyāhāra* अद् is mentioned. For instance in the *sūtras* आतोऽटि नित्यम्, अच्छोऽटि, दीर्घादटि समानपादे, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in महौ हि सः

* In the *sūtra* हयवरद्

† In the *sūtra* हन्

उत्वे च

Also in *sūtras* dealing with उत्त्व.

उत्वे च हकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हशि च, हकारे च इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् पुरुषो हसति, ब्राह्मणो हसति

Hakāra has to be read also in *sūtras* dealing with उत्त्व. For instance in the *sūtra* हशि च after अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in पुरुषो हसति, ब्राह्मणो हसति.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः

If so, let it be read before.

पूर्वोपदेशे किञ्चकसेइविधयो ज्ञानग्रहणानि च

It being read before, injunction of किञ्च, क्स and इद् and ज्ञानग्रहण.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः, किञ्चं विधेयम्—स्निहित्वा स्नेहित्वा सिस्निहित्वा सिस्नेहित्वा—रलो व्युपधाद्वलादेः इति किञ्चं न प्राप्नोति । क्सविधिः, क्सश्च विधेयः—अधुक्षत् अलिक्षत्—शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः इति क्सो न प्राप्नोति । इद्विधिः, इद् च विधेयः—रुदिहि स्वपिहि—वलादिलक्षण इण् न प्राप्नोति । ज्ञानग्रहणानि च । किम्? । अहकाराणि स्युः । तत्र को दोषः? शलो झलि इति इह न स्यात्, अदाग्वाम्, अदाग्वम्

If it is read before, किञ्च has to be enjoined in cases like स्निहित्वा स्नेहित्वा, सिस्निहित्वा, सिस्नेहित्वा since they cannot be operated upon by the *sūtra* रलो व्युपधाद्वलादेः, (for ह् cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra* रल्.) क्स has to be enjoined in cases like अधुक्षत्, अलिक्षत् since they cannot be operated upon by शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः (for ह् cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra* शल्) इद् has to be enjoined in cases like रुदिहि, स्वपिहि since they cannot be operated upon by रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधानुके (for ह् cannot be

included under the *pratyāhāra* बल्. *Sūtras* dealing with झल् also. Why? They will not include ह्. What is the harm there? The *sūtra* झलो झलि cannot operate in अदाग्धम्, अदाग्धम्.

तस्मात् पूर्वश्चैव उपदेष्टव्यः परश्च । यदि च किञ्चिद् अन्यत्राप्युपदेशे प्रयोजन-
मस्ति तत्राप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Therefore it has to be read before and after. If there be any use of its being read elsewhere, there too should it be read.

II

इदं विचार्यते अयं रेफो यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वं एवोपदिश्येत हरयवट् इति,
पर एव वा यथाग्यासम् इति

This is to be discussed whether रेफ is to be read before य and व as हरयवट् or after them as it is in the *sūtra*.

कश्चात् विशेषः !

What is the difference here ?

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेधः

रेफ being read after, prohibition of अनुनासिक, द्विर्वचन and पर-
सवर्ण.

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अनुनासि-
कस्य—घ्रातर्नयति स्वनयति, यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा इत्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति ।
द्विर्वचनस्य—मद्रहदः, मद्रहदः, यर इति द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति । परसवर्णस्य—कुण्डं
रथेन, वनं रथेन, अनुस्वारस्य ययि . . . इति परसवर्णः प्राप्नोति

If रेफ is read after य and व (as it is in the *sūtra*), nasali-
sation, doubling and likening to the following letter should
be prohibited. As regards nasalisation, in cases like
स्वनयति, घ्रातर्नयति the *sūtra* यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा will ope-
rate. As regards doubling, in cases like मद्रहदः मद्रहदः doubling

will take place by the *sūtra* अनचि च (since रेफ is included under the *pratyāhāra* यर्.) As regards the likening to the following letter, in cases like कुण्डं रथेन, वनं रथेन, the *sūtra* अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः will operate so that परसवर्णं will take place.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः

If so, let it be read before them.

पूर्वोपदेशे किञ्चप्रतिषेधो व्यलोपवचनं च

It being read before, prohibition of किञ्च and mention of व्यलोप.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः किञ्चं प्रतिषेध्यं—देवित्वा, दिदेविषति—रलो व्युपधात् . . .
इति किञ्चं प्राप्नोति

If it is read before, किञ्च has to be prohibited; otherwise क्त्वा and सन् will become optionally कित् in देवित्वा and दिदेविषति by the *sūtra* रलो व्युपधात् . . (since व् will be included in the *pratyāhāra* रल्).

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते रलो व्युपधात् इति

There will be no room for this flaw since it is not understood thus—रलः व्युपधात् . . .

किं तर्हि ! How then ?

रलः अव्युपधात् इति

Thus—रलः अव्युपधात्.

किमिदं अव्युपधात् इति ?

What does अव्युपधात् mean here ?

अवकारान्तात् व्युपधात् अव्युपधात् इति

After व्युपध which does not end in व्.

व्यलोपवचनं च । व्योश्च लोपो वक्तव्यः । गौधेरः, पचेरन्, यजेरन्, जीवे रदानुः—जीरदानुः ; वलीति लोपो न प्राप्नोति इति

Mention of the elision of य् and व्. The elision of य् and व् should be mentioned in the following cases गौधेरः, पचेरन्, यजेरन्, जीरदानुः (the suffix रदानुः after जीव् by जीवेरदानुः) since र् is not included in the *pratyāhāra* वल्.

नैष दोषः रेफोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते, लोपो व्योर्वलीति रेफे च वलि च इति

There is no room for this flaw. रेफ also is mentioned here thus लोपो व्योर्वलि, रेफे च वलि च. *

अथवा पुनरस्तु परोपदेशः

Or let there be परोपदेश itself.

ननु चोक्तं रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विवचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेध इति :

Has it not been said that, if there is परोपदेश prohibition of nasalisation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be made ?

अनुनासिकपरसवर्णयोस्तावत् प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यः, रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति । द्विवचनेऽपि, नेमौ रहौ कार्थिणौ द्विवचनस्य । किं तर्हि ! निमित्तमिमौ रहौ द्विवचनस्य ; तद्यथा—ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्ता माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेविष्टाम् इति, नेदानीं तौ भुञ्जते

First there is no need for the prohibition of अनुनासिक and परसवर्ण since रेफ and fricatives have no like letters. Even

* The defect in this case is that र् has to be read which is not in the *sūtra*.

in द्विवचन, रेफ and हकार are not the recipients of द्विवचन. What then? They are निमित्तs of द्विवचन. It is analogous to this—when it is said that brahmins may be fed and मातर and कौण्डिन्य may serve, they two do not dine then.

III

इदं विचार्यते—इमे अयोगवाहा * न कचिदुपदिश्यन्ते श्रूयन्ते च, तेषां कार्यार्थे उपदेश कर्तव्यः

This is discussed that these अयोगवाहs are read nowhere but heard (in words) and they have to be read to be operated upon by the *sūtras*.

के पुनरयोगवाहाः?

What are अयोगवाहs?

विसर्जनीयजिह्वामूर्लीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वारयमाः

They are *visarga*, *jihvāmūlīya*, *upadhmanīya*, *anuvāra* and *yama*.

कथं पुनरयोगवाहाः?

How are they called अयोगवाहs?

यद्युक्ता ब्रह्मन्ति, अनुपदिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते

Since they being heard without being read are operated upon without being included in any *pratyāhāra*.

* It is interesting to note that Kannada grammarians began to use the term *yogavāha* in place of *ayogavāha*; this is perhaps due to false etymology that those letters are found only in the company of others or metanalysis.

Cf. *Jihvāmūlīyopadhmanīyabāndhavisargaṅgaḥam vyāñjanasamjñāyallī yogavāhaṅgaḥ* [endū pēṣar (Śabdamañidarpaṇa 1,22 commentary)]

क पुनरेषामुपदेशः कर्तव्यः ?

Where are these to be read ?

अयोगवाहानामदसु णत्वम्

Reading of अयोगवाह among अद for the sake of णत्व.

अयोगवाहानामदसु उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? णत्वम्—उरःकेण उरःकेण, उरःपेण उरःपेण, अह्वयवाये इति णत्वं सिद्धं भवति

Reading of अयोगवाह among the letters included in the *pratyāhāra* अद is necessary. What is the use ? णत्व, as in उरःकेण, उरःकेण, उरःपेण and उरःपेण । णत्व can be accomplished since there is अह्वयवाय.

शर्षु जश्भावपत्वे

Their reading among शर् for the sake of जश्त्व and णत्व.

शर्षुपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? जश्भावपत्वे । अयमुच्चिरूपध्मानीयोपधः पठ्यते ; तस्मै जश्त्वे कृते उच्चिता उच्चितुम् इत्येतद्रूपं यथा स्यात्

They have to be read among शर्. What is the use? For the sake of जश्त्व and णत्व. This root उच्च् is read with *upadhmānīya* for its penultimate. If it takes जश्त्व, the forms उच्चिता and उच्चितुम् may be got.

यद्युच्चिरूपध्मानीयोपधः पठ्यते उच्चिजिषति इति उपध्मानीयादेरेव द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति, दकारोपधे पुनः नन्द्राः संयोगादयः इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

If the root उच्च् is read with *upadhmānīya* for its penultimate, the doubling of that commencing with *upadhmānīya* (i. e.) च्चि in उच्चिजिषति takes place. If, on the other hand, the penultimate is दकार, prohibition of its doubling takes place by the *sūtra* नन्द्राः संयोगादयः.

यदि दकारोपधः पठ्यते का रूपसिद्धिः, उञ्जिता, उञ्जितुम् इति ?

If it is read with दकार for its penultimate, how are the forms उञ्जिता and उञ्जितुम् to be got ?

असिद्धे भ उद्जे—इदमस्ति स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः इति, ततो वक्ष्यामि भ उद्जेः, उद्जेः श्चुना सलिपाते भो भवतीति

In the *asiddhaprakaraṇa* the reading of भ उद्जेः. Here is the *sūtra* स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः ; then shall I read भ उद्जेः so that द् of उद्ज् will become भ when it is followed by श्च and चवगे.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम्

Then it is to be read.

न वक्तव्यम्, निपातनादेव सिद्धम्

No, it need not be read since it is accomplished by *nipātana*.

किं निपातनम् ?

Which *nipātana* ?

भुजन्मुञ्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः इति

The *nipātana* is भुजन्मुञ्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अभ्युद्रः समुद्रः इति

Even here in अभ्युद्रः and समुद्रः will it come.

अकुत्वविषये तन्निपातनम् । अथवा नैतदुञ्जे रूपं, गमेरेतत् द्व्युपसर्गाद्धि विधी-
मते, अभ्युद्रतः अभ्युद्रः, समुद्रतः समुद्र इति

The *nipātana* is where there is no कुन्व. Or this is not derived from the root उञ्ज्, but from गम् where डः takes place when

the root *गम्* is preceded by two prepositions. *अभ्युद्रतः* becomes *अभ्युद्रः*, and *समुद्रतः* becomes *समुद्रः*.

पत्वं च प्रयोजनम्—सर्पिःषु, धनुःषु—शर्व्यवाय इति पत्वं सिद्धं भवति, नुम्वि-
सर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि इति विसर्जनीयग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति

पत्वं is the benefit as in *सर्पिःषु* and *धनुःषु*. It is achieved since there is *शर्व्यवाय*. So the word *विसर्जनीय* in *नुम्विसर्जनीय-शर्व्यवाये* is unnecessary.

नुमश्चापि तर्हि ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

In that case even the word *नुम्* is unnecessary.

कथं सर्पिषि, धनुषि ?

How are the forms *सर्पिषि* and *धनुषि* to be got ?

अनुस्वारे कृते शर्व्यवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्

After the *anusvāra* is brought in, *पत्वं* is accomplished by *शर्व्यवाय*.

अवश्यं नुमो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अनुस्वारविशेषणं नुमग्रहणम्, नुमो योऽनुस्वारः
तत्र यथा स्यात्, इह मा मूत्-पुंसु इति

Reading of *नुम्* is necessary. It is taken as the *विशेषण* of *anusvāra* so that *पत्वं* may take place where *anusvāra* has replaced *नुम्* and may not take place in *पुंसु*.

अथवा अविशेषणोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Or they have to be read wherever necessary.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use ?

अविशेषेण संयोगोपधासंज्ञालोऽन्त्यद्विर्वचनस्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधाः

Reading wherever necessary for the sake of the संज्ञाs, संयोग and उपधा, for the operation of अलोऽन्त्यविधि and द्विर्वचनविधि and for the prohibition of स्थानिवद्भाव.

अविशेषेण संयोगसंज्ञा प्रयोजनम्—उद्भवक-हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः इति संयोगसंज्ञा, संयोगे गुरु इति गुरुसंज्ञा, गुरोः . . . इति प्लुतो भवति । उपधासंज्ञा च प्रयोजनम्—दुष्कृतम्, निष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, निष्पीतम्, इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य इति पत्वे सिद्धं भवति

By reading it wherever necessary, संयोगसंज्ञा is one *prayōjana*. In उद्भवक, the letter उ is *pluta* संयोगसंज्ञा and गुरुसंज्ञा are got by the operation of the *sūtras* हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः and संयोगे गुरु and it becomes *pluta* after being operated upon by the *sūtra* गुरोः उपधासंज्ञा also is another *prayōjana*. The पत्व is achieved in दुष्कृतम्, निष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम् and निष्पीतम् by the operation of the *sūtra* इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् ; न इदुदुपधग्रहणेन विसर्जनीयो विशेष्यते

This is not a *prayōjana*, for the penultimate इ and उ do not qualify the *visarga*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

सकारो, विशेष्यते, इदुदुपधस्य सकारस्य यो विसर्जनीय इति

सकार is qualified thus—the *visarga* which has replaced सकार in the word having for the penultimate इन् and उन्.

अथवा उपधाग्रहणं न करिष्यते । इदुच्चां तु परं विसर्जनीयं विशेषयिष्यामः इदुच्चासुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य इति

Or उपधा is not read there. We shall qualify the *visarga* as followed by इत् and उत् thus—इदुद्ध्यामुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य.

अलोऽन्त्यविधिश्च प्रयोजनम्—वृक्षस्तरति, पृक्षस्तरति,—अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्तीति अलोऽन्त्यस्य सत्त्वं सिद्धं भवति

The operation of अलोऽन्त्यविधि also is a *prayōjana*. In the examples वृक्षस्तरति and पृक्षस्तरति, सकार takes the place of *visarga* by taking recourse to the rule अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति इति विसर्जनीय-
स्यैव भविष्यति

This too is not a *prayōjana*. Since *ādēśas* replace only what is mentioned ; सकार replaces only the *visarga*.

द्विवचनं प्रयोजनम्—उरःकः, उरःपः—अनाचि च अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे
भवत इति द्विवचनं सिद्धं भवति

Doubling is another benefit. In the examples उरःकः and उरःपः doubling is achieved by the operation of the *sūtra* अनाचि च which means that यर् following a vowel is doubled.

स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधश्च प्रयोजनम्, यथेह भवति उरःकेण, उरःपेण, इति अद्व्य-
वाय इति णत्वम् एवमिहापि स्थानिवद्भावात्प्राप्नोति, व्यूदोरस्केन महोरस्केन इति ;
तत्र अनलिवधौ इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेध also is a *prayōjana*; just as णत्व may come by अद्व्यवाय in उरःकेण and उरःपेण, so also the णत्व may come by स्थानिवद्भाव in व्यूदोरस्केन and महोरस्केन and it is prevented by अनलिवधौ.

IV

किं पुनरिमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः, आहोस्वित् अनर्थकाः ?

Do these letters have meaning or no ?

अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानाम् एकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात्

Letters have meaning, since there is meaning in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*.

अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः । कुतः ? धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् । धातव एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो दृश्यन्ते—एति, * अध्येति, † अधीते ‡ इति । प्रातिपदिकान्येकवर्णान्यर्थवन्ति—आभ्यान्, एभिः, एषु । प्रत्यया एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः—औपगवः, कापटवः । निपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः—अ अपेहि, इ इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उत्तिष्ठ, अ अपक्राम । धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शितान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति

Letters have meaning. Why ? Since meaning is found in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*. One-lettered roots having meaning are found. *viz.* एति, अध्येति, अधीते. One-lettered stems having meaning are found. *viz.* आभ्याम्, एभिः, एषु । One-lettered affixes having meaning are found. *viz.* औपगवः, कापटवः. One-lettered *nipātas* having meaning are found. *viz.* अ अपेहि, इ इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उत्तिष्ठ, अ अपक्राम. We think that letters have meaning since one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas* are found to have meaning.

वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनात्

On account of change in meaning by the change in letters.

वर्णव्यत्यये च अर्थान्तरगमनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति—कूपः सूपो यूष इति—कूप इति सक्कारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, सूष इति ककारापाये सकारोपजने चार्थान्तरं गम्यते, यूष इति ककारसकारापाये यकारोपजनेऽर्थान्तरं गम्यते । तेन मन्यामहे यः कूपे कूपार्थः स ककारस्य § यः सूप्ते सूपार्थः स सकारस्य, यो यूप्ते यूपार्थः स यकारस्य इति

* Root इण्. † Root इक्. ‡ Root इह्.

§ अन्येषां ग्रन्थाः सक्कारस्येति ; त एवमाहुः सह ककारेण अर्थवत्ता इति (*Pradīpikā*)

We think that letters have meaning since meaning changes in words if one letter is replaced by another. *viz.* कृपः, सृपः, यूपः. The word कृपः is seen to have one meaning when it is with ककार; another meaning is seen in the word सृपः where क् is removed and स् is placed in its stead; and another meaning is seen in the word यूपः where both क् and स् are removed and य् is placed instead. Therefore we think that the meaning of the word कृप is in its ककार, that of सृप is in its लकार and that of यूप is in its यकार.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतः

On account of the absence of that meaning in the absence of one letter.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेर्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति—वृक्षः, ऋक्षः काण्डीरः, आण्डीरः—वृक्ष इति सवकारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, ऋक्ष इति वकारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते । काण्डीर इति सङ्कारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, आण्डीर इति ककारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते

We think that letters have meaning since, in the absence of one letter, that meaning is not found. *viz.* वृक्षः, ऋक्षः, काण्डीरः, आण्डीरः. The word वृक्ष is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter व् and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word ऋक्षः. The word काण्डीरः is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter क् and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word आण्डीरः.

किं तर्ह्युच्यते अनर्थगतेः इति, न सार्धोऽपि ह्यत्रार्थस्य गतिर्भवति?

Why is it said अनर्थगतेः ? Is not its meaning well understood?

एवं तर्हि इदं पठितव्यं स्यात् वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः इति

If so, it should be read thus वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः

किमिदम् अतदर्शगतेरिति !

What is meant by अतदर्शगतेः ?

तस्यार्थः तदर्शः, तदर्शस्य गतिः तदर्शगतिः, न तदर्शगतिः अतदर्शगतिः, अतदर्शगतेरिति । अथवा सोऽर्थः तदर्शः, तदर्शस्य गतिः तदर्शगतिः, न तदर्शगतिः अतदर्शगतिः, अतदर्शगतेरिति

The word अतदर्शगतेः is taken to be the ablative case of अतदर्शगतिः which is the compound of न and तदर्शगतिः. तदर्शगतिः is taken to be the *tatpuruṣa* compound of तदर्श and गतिः, where तदर्श is the compound of तस्य and अर्थः. Or अतदर्शगतेः is taken to be the ablative case of अतदर्शगतिः which is the compound of न and तदर्शगतिः. तदर्शगतिः is taken to be the *tatpuruṣa* compound of तदर्श and गतिः, where तदर्श is the compound of सः and अर्थः.

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः

Then it should be read so.

न कर्तव्यः ; उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः—तद्यथा उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य उष्ट्रमुखः, खरमुखः । एवम् अतदर्शगतेः अनर्थगतेः इति

No, it need not be read. Here it is to be construed that the following word has been dropped. Just as in the word उष्ट्रमुखः whose विग्रहवाक्य is उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य the word मुखम् after उष्ट्र is dropped and also in खरमुखः, so also in the word अनर्थगतेः the word तद् after अ is dropped *.

संघातार्थवच्चाच्च

On account of the collection having meaning.

* न between अ and अर्थगतेः should be taken as intervocalic.

संघातार्थवत्त्वाच्च मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति, येषां संघाता अर्थवन्तः अवयवा अपि तेषाम् अर्थवन्तः । येषां ह्यवयवा अर्थवन्तः समुदाया अपि तेषां अर्थवन्तः—तद्यथा, एकश्चक्षुष्मान् दर्शने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शतमपि समर्थम् ; एकश्च तिलस्तैलदाने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च स्वार्थपि तैलदाने समर्थः ; येषां पुनरवयवा अनर्थकाः समुदाया अपि तेषामनर्थकाः—तद्यथा, एकोऽन्धो दर्शने असमर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शतमप्यसमर्थम्, एका च सिक्ता तैलदाने असमर्थी तत्समुदायश्च स्वार्थशतमप्यसमर्थम्

We think that letters have meaning since their collection has meaning. If the collections of letters have meaning, their parts too, have meaning. If the parts have meaning, their wholes also have meaning, *viz.* If one man with eyes is able to see, a collection of hundred such men is able to see. If one gingelly seed is capable of giving oil, 64 *marakkul* of gingelly seed is capable of giving oil. If the parts have no meaning, their wholes also cannot have meaning. *viz.* If one blind man is not able to see, a collection of hundred such men cannot see; if one particle of sand cannot give oil, hundred *khāri* of the same cannot give oil.

यदि तर्हि इमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः अर्थवत्कृतानि प्राप्नुवन्ति †

If then these letters have meaning, they will be operated upon by the rules which operate on those that have meaning.

कानि ? What are they ?

अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम् इति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा, प्रातिपदिकात् इति त्वाद्युत्पत्तिः सुबन्तं पदम् इति पदसंज्ञा

† एतदुक्तं भवति—प्रयोगे अर्थवत्तायां सत्यां न दोषोऽस्ति, शास्त्रेषु किञ्चिद्विद्वन्त्यति (Pradīpikā)

They will get the designation प्रातिपदिकम् by अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम्, will receive the case-suffixes after them by प्रातिपदिकात्.. and will get the designation पदम् by सुवन्तं पदम्

तत्र को दोषः ?

What is the harm there ?

पदस्य इति नलोपाद्वीनि प्राप्नुवन्ति धनं वनम् इति

The elision of न and others will take place in the words धनम् and वनम् by the operation of पदस्य.

संघातस्यैकार्थ्यात् सुबभावो वर्णात्

Collection having one meaning, absence of case-suffixes after letters.

संघातस्य एकत्वमर्थो, तेन वर्णात्सुबुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति

Since the collection has one meaning, case-suffixes will not come after each letter.

अनर्थकास्तु प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः

Letters, on the other hand, have no meaning since meaning is not had for every letter.

अनर्थकास्तु वर्णाः । कुतः ? प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः । न हि प्रतिवर्णमर्थो उपलभ्यन्ते । किमिदं प्रतिवर्णमिति ? वर्णं वर्णं प्रति प्रतिवर्णम्

Letters have no meaning. Why ? Since meaning is not found for every letter. Meanings are not got for every letter. How is प्रतिवर्णम् derived ? प्रतिवर्णम् is derived thus—वर्णं वर्णं प्रति.

वर्णव्यत्यापायोपजननविकारेष्वर्थदर्शनात्

Since the same meaning is present though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters.

* वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारेऽर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति । वर्ण-
व्यत्यये—कृतेस्तर्कः, कतेः सिकता, हिंसेः सिंहः ; वर्णव्यत्ययः नार्थव्यत्ययः । अपायो
लोपः—हतः, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तु, अघ्नन् ; वर्णापायो नार्थापायः । उपजन आगमः—लविता,
लवितुम् ; वर्णोपजनः नार्थोपजनः । विकार आदेशः—घातयति, घातकः ; वर्णविकारो
नार्थविकारः । यथैव वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारा भवन्ति तद्वत् अर्थव्यत्ययापायोपजन-
विकारैर्भवितव्यम् न चेह तद्वत् । अतो मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति

We think that letters have no meaning since the same meaning is found though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters. In metathesis, तर्कः is from कृत्, सिकता is from कस् and सिंहः is from हिंसः ; here is metathesis only of letters and no change in meaning. अपाय means elision—*viz.* हतः, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तु, अघ्नन्. Here is elision of letters and not of meaning. उपजन means augment *viz.* लविता, लवितुम्. Here is only augment of letters and not of meaning. विकार means आदेश *viz.* घातयति, घातकः. Here is only substitution of letters and not of meaning. As there is metathesis, elision, augment on substitution of letters, so should there be change, elision, augment and substitution in meaning. It is not so here. Hence we think that letters have no meaning.

उभयमिदं वर्णेषूक्तम्—अर्थवन्तोऽनर्थका इति च, किमत्र न्याय्यम् ?

Both has been said with regard to letters that they have meaning and that they have not. Which is right here ?

उभयमित्याह

Both, says he.

कुतः ? How ?

स्वभावतः । तद्यथा—समानमीदृमानानां चाधीयानानां केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते अपरे न ; न चेदानीं कश्चिदर्थवानिति कृत्वा सर्वैरर्थवद्भिः शक्यं भवितुम्, कश्चिद्वा अनर्थक इति कृत्वा सर्वैरनर्थकैः

By nature. For instance, of those persons who study equally with the same hope (of getting money), some get it and others do not.* Because one gets money, it is not necessary that all have got money and because one has not got money, it is not necessary that all have not got money.

तत्र किमस्माभिः शक्यं कर्तुम् ?

If so, what are we to do here ?

यद्वातुप्रत्ययप्रातिपदिकनिपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो अतोऽन्येऽनर्थका इति । स्वभाविकमेतत्

Such single letters as stand as roots, affixes, stems and *nipātas* have meaning and the rest have no meaning. This is quite natural.

कथं य एष भवता वर्णानामर्थवत्तायां हेतुरुपदिष्टः—अर्थवन्तो वर्णा धातु-प्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनाद्वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनाद्वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेः सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च इति ? सङ्घातान्तराण्येवैतान्येवजातीयकानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्ते, कूपः सूपो यूप इति । यदि हि वर्णव्यत्ययकृतमर्थान्तरगमनं स्यात् सूयिष्ठः कूपार्थः सूपे स्यात्, सूपार्थश्च कूपे, कूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च कूपे, सूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च सूपे ; यतस्तु खलु न † किञ्चित्कूपस्य वा सूपे, सूपस्य वा कूपे, कूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा

* This sentence is interpreted also thus :—Of those who equally strive after (wealth), some get it and others do not; of those who equally study, some get the desired object and others do not.

† कश्चित् is another reading.

कूपे, सूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा सूपे, अतो मन्यामहे सङ्घातान्तराप्येवैतान्येवंजातीय-
कानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्ते इति ; इदं खल्वपि भवता वर्णानामर्थवत्तां ब्रुवता साधीयोऽन-
र्थकत्वं द्योतितं—यो हि मन्यते यः कूपे कूपार्थः स ककारस्य, यः सूपे सूपार्थः स सकार-
स्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यकारस्येति, ऊपशब्दस्त्वस्यानर्थकः स्यात्

What about the reasons enunciated by you to comprehend that letters have meaning—अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः...सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च ? The words of the type कूपः, सूपः and यूपः are different letter smaller groups having different meanings. If the change in their meaning is due only to the change of a single letter, the major portion of the meaning of कूप should lie in सूप, that of सूप in कूप, that of कूप in यूप, that of यूप in कूप, that of सूप in यूप and that of यूप in सूप. Since there is nothing of the meaning of कूप in सूप, that of सूप in कूप, that of कूप in यूप, that of यूप in कूप, that of सूप in यूप and that of यूप in सूप, we think that these are different groups having different meanings. Even this has been very well suggested by you that letters have no meaning while proving that letters have meaning. He who thinks that the meaning of कूप is in ककार, that of सूप in सकार, and that of यूप in यकार, has to decide that ऊप has no meaning.

तत्रेदमपरिहृतं सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्चेति

There this—सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च—has been left unanswered.

एतस्यापि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां परिहारं वक्ष्यति

Answer for this also will be given later while dealing with प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा *

* The answer is this :— दण्डो व्यतदर्थेन गुणेन गुणिनोऽर्थभावः सुराजवत् रथाजवत्. It is seen that wholes have meaning unconnected with the meaning of the parts, as wine and chariot are unconnected with the quality of their parts.

अइउण्, कलक, एओङ्, ऐऔच्

प्रत्याहारोऽनुबन्धानां कथमज्ग्रहणेषु * न

Why is the non-inclusion of *anubandhas* in the *pratyāhāra* अच् ?

य एते अक्षु प्रत्याहारार्था अनुबन्धाः कियन्ते एतेषामज्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं कस्मान्न भवति ?

Why are not the *anubandhas* (ण् क् इ and च्) which are read in the *sūtras* अइउण्, कलक, एओङ् and ऐऔच् to form प्रत्याहारस included under अच् ?

किं च स्यात् ?

What if they are included ?

दधि णकारीयति, मधु णकारीयति, इति इको यणचि इति यणादेशः प्रसज्येत इ and उ of दधि and मधु in दधि णकारीयति and मधु णकारीयति will respectively be replaced by य् and ष् on the strength of the *sūtra* इको यणचि.

आचारात्

By *ācāra*.

किमिदमाचारात् ?

What is here meant by आचारात् ?

आचार्याणामुपचारात् । नैतेष्वआचार्या अच्कार्याणि कृतवन्तः

By the application of *Ācārya*. † *Ācārya* has not treated them as अच्.

* अक्षु is another reading. It means अच्प्रत्याहारबोधकमन्त्रेषु.

† The *Ācārya* here refers to the author of the *sūtra* तृपिस्त्रिपिहृषेः काश्यपस्य.

अप्रधानत्वात्

On account of their secondary nature,

अप्रधानत्वाच्च न स्वल्प्येतेषां अलु प्राधान्येनोपदेशः कियते

Since they are secondary here, they are not read in these four *sūtras* primarily.

क तर्हि !

Where then are they read primarily ?

हल्षु

In the *sūtras* which enable us to form the *pratyāhāra* हल्.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

एषा आचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते, यत्तुल्यजातीयांस्तुल्यजातीयेषु उपदिशति, अचोऽक्षु, हलो हल्षु

This is the procedure of *Ācārya* that he reads the letters of the same family together. The vowels in the *sūtras* forming the *pratyāhāra* अच् and consonants in those forming the *pratyāhāra* हल्.

लोपश्च बलवत्तरः

The elision is stronger.

लोपः स्वल्पि तावद्भवति

The elision (by the *sūtra* तस्य लोपः) takes place before" (the formation of *प्रत्याहार* by the *sūtra* आदिरन्त्येन सहेता)

ऊकालोऽजिति वा योगस्तत्कालानां यथा भवेत् ।
अचां ग्रहणमच्कार्यं तेनैषां न भविष्यति ॥

The *sūtra* is split as ऊकालोऽच्, so that the designation अच् may come only to such sounds as have their quantity and so that it may not come to these.

अथवा योगविभागः करिष्यते, ऊकालोऽच्—उ ऊ उ३ इत्येवंकालोऽज्यवति—
ततः ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः—ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञश्च भवति ऊकालोऽच्

Or the *sūtra* is split thus ऊकालोऽच्, meaning that अच् is that which has the quantity of उ, ऊ and उ३ and then ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः meaning that अच् having ऊकाल get the designation of ह्रस्व, दीर्घ and प्लुत.

एवमपि कुकुट इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

Even then the designation अच् will come to कृक of कुकुट.

तस्मात् पूर्वोक्त एव परिहारः

Hence the answer has already been given. *

एष एवार्थः

The same is the conclusion.

अपर आह †

Another says.

ह्रस्वादीनां वचनात् प्राग्यावत्तावदेव योगोऽस्तु ।
अच्कार्याणि यथा स्युस्तत्कालेष्वथु कार्याणि ॥

Let the *sūtra* be as it is before—ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः—so that the rules dealing with अच् may operate upon such अच् as have that quantity.

* At the end of ऐऔच् *bhāṣya*.

† This shows that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* commented upon *vārtikas* of different authors, some of which were in *śloka* form.

VI

अथ किमर्थम् अन्तःस्थानामणसूपदेशः क्रियते * :

Now why are the semi-vowels so mentioned as to be operated upon by the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

इह सयैयैयन्ता सर्व्वत्सरः यल्ल्लोकम् तल्ल्लोकम् इत परसवर्णम्यासिद्ध-
त्वात् अनुस्वारस्यैव द्विवचनम् । तत्र परस्य परसवर्णे कृते तस्य ययुग्रहणेन ग्रहणात्
पूर्वम्यापि परसवर्णो यथा स्यात्

Since, in the examples सर्व्वयन्ता सर्व्ववत्सरः यल्ल्लोकम् तल्ल्लोकम्, परसवर्णं (by the sūtra अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः) is asiddha, the doubling will be to the anusvāra alone. When the second is made परसवर्णं there, the first too may be made परसवर्णं taking the second to be यय.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्यत्येतत्-द्विर्वचने परसर्वणत्वं सिद्धं वक्तव्यम्-इति ।
 यावत्ता सिद्धत्वमुच्यते परसर्वणं एव तावद्धवति

No, this is not the benefit. He is going to say that परमवर्णत्वं in the case of द्विवचन is to be considered सिद्ध. Since it is stated सिद्ध, परमवर्णत्वं first takes place.

परमवर्णं तर्हि कृते तस्य ग्रहणेन ग्रहणाद्विचनं यथा स्यात्

If then परसचर्णत्व is made, doubling will take place since it may be considered यर .

मा मृदु द्विर्वचनम्

Let there be no doubling.

* *Of*. किमर्थमणुदित्सवर्णस्य इति णकारेण प्रत्याहारः कियते, यत्र अन्तस्था अप्यन्तमा-
व्यन्ते, न पुनश्चकारेण प्रत्याहारः कियते (*Pradīpikā*).

अनुदितावर्णस्येति कस्माच्च कृतमिति प्रश्नः (Kātyāyana.)

अणः सृष्ट्युपदेशः . . . अणसु उपदेश इति तु नार्थः (Nāgēśa).

ननु च भेदो भवति, सति द्विवचने त्रियकारकम्, असति द्विवचने द्वियकारकम्
Oh, difference will there be! When there is doubling, there will be three यकारs and when there is no doubling, there will be only two यकारs.

नास्ति भेदः; सत्यपि द्विवचने द्वियकारकमेव

No, there is no difference; since even when there is doubling, there are only two यकारs.

कथम्? How?

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्य लोपेन भवितव्यम्

One should be dropped on the operation of the *sūtra* हलो यमां यमि लोपः

एवमपि भेदः; सति द्विवचने कदाचित् द्वियकारकं, कदाचित् त्रियकारकम्; असति द्वियकारकमेव

Even then there will be difference. When there is doubling, there will be sometimes three *yakāras* and sometimes two *yakāras*. If there is no doubling, there will be only two *yakāras*.

स एष कथं भेदो न स्यात्?

How will there be no such difference?

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात्; विभाषा च स लोपः

(It will be so) if the elision is नित्य; but it is विभाषा.

यथाऽभेदस्तथास्तु

Let it be taken in that way wherein there will be no difference.

अनुवर्तते विभाषा शरोऽचि यद्वाप्यत्ययं द्वित्वम्

विभाषा follows since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra* शरोऽचि.

यदयं शरोऽचि इति द्विवचनप्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तत् ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽनुवर्तते विभाषा इति

Since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra* शरोऽचि, *Ācārya* suggests that विभाषा follows.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

On what interpretation will it become ज्ञापक ?

नित्ये हि तस्य लोपे प्रतिषेधार्थो न कश्चित् स्यात्

If the *lōpa* is *nitya*, there will be no use of prohibition.

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात् प्रतिषेधवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् । अस्तत्र द्विवचनं, शरो ह्रि सवर्णे इति लोपो भविष्यति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः विभाषा स लोप इति ; ततो द्विवचनप्रतिषेधं शास्ति

If the elision is *nitya*, the *sūtra* enjoining prohibition will be of no use. Let there be doubling. Elision takes place by the *sūtra* शरो ह्रि सवर्णे. *Ācārya* sees that the elision is optional and so reads the *sūtra* prohibiting doubling.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । नित्येऽपि तस्य लोपे स प्रतिषेधोऽवश्यं वक्तव्यः, यदेतद् अचो रहाभ्यां इति द्विवचनं लोपापवादः स विज्ञायते

No, this is not a ज्ञापक ; for the *sūtra* of prohibition need be mentioned even when the elision is *nitya* since the doubling enjoined by the *sūtra* अचो रहाभ्याम् is considered to be the अपवाद to the लोप.

कथम् ? How ?

यर इत्युच्यते, एतावन्तश्च यरः यदुत झरो वा यमो वा । यदि चात्र लोपः स्यात् द्विवचनमनर्थकं स्यात्

यरः is said ; both झरः and यमः are यरः. If there is elision here, doubling will be of no use.

किं तर्हि तयोर्योगयोरुदाहरणम् ?

What then are the examples for those two *sūtras* ?

यदकृते द्विवचने त्रिव्यञ्जनः संयोगः—प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्यः । इहेदानीं कर्ता हर्ता इति द्विवचनसामर्थ्याल्लोपो न भवति । एवमिहापि लोपो न स्यात्—कर्षति वर्षति इति । तस्मान्नित्येऽपि लोपे अवश्यं स प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Where, in the absence of doubling, there are three consonants together viz. प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्यः. Here now in the examples कर्ता and हर्ता there is no elision on the strength of the enjoining of doubling. So also here in the examples कर्षति and वर्षति there is no elision. Hence even when the elision is *nitya*, that prohibition should needs be said.

तदेतदत्यन्तं सन्दिग्धं वर्तते आचार्याणां विभाषा अनुवर्तते न वेति

Hence it is extremely doubtful whether विभाषा is taken to follow or not.

लण्

अयं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते पूर्वञ्चैव परश्च । तत्र अण्यग्रहणेषु इण्यग्रहणेषु च सन्देहो भवति, पूर्वेण वा स्युः परेण वा इति

This णकार is used twice at the end of the *pratyāhāra sūtras* one before and the other after. There in the *sūtras* having अण् and इण् arises the doubt whether the *pratyāhāra* is with the former ण् or with the latter ण्.

कतमस्मिन्तावदणग्रहणे सन्देहः ?

In which *sūtra* mentioning अण् does the doubt arise ?

द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः इति

In the *sūtra* द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is beyond doubt that it is with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

परमावात्

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्.

न हि द्वलोपे परेऽणः सन्ति

When there is द्वलोप, there are no letters which are included in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ण्.

ननु चायमस्ति आतृढ आवृढ इति !

Oh there is आतृढः आवृढः !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात् अणग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽचः इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो वेतद्भवति द्वसो दीर्घः प्लुत इति

If so, by सामर्थ्य it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would have been of no use since he would have read द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽचः.

Or he would not have read even अच्: since ह्रस्वत्व, दीर्घत्व and प्लुतत्व can belong only to अच्.

अस्मिस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः केऽणः इति

If so, there is doubt in the *sūtra* केऽणः where अण् is found.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि के परे अणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. For there are no letters included in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ण् before the *pratyaya* 'ka.'

ननु चायमस्ति गोका नौका इति !

Oh there is this गोका नौका !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्याद् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, केऽच इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो धेतद्धवति ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति

If so by सामर्थ्यं it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would serve no purpose since he would have read केऽचः. Or he would not have read even अच्: since ह्रस्वत्व, दीर्घत्व and प्लुतत्व can belong only to अच्.

अस्मिस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः अणोऽग्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्य अनुनासिकः which contains अण्.

असन्दिग्धे पूर्वणे, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि पदान्ताः परेऽणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. There are no letters in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ण् which are finals of padas.

तनु चायमस्ति कर्तुं, हर्तुं !

Oh there is this कर्तुं, हर्तुं !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात् अण्प्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् अचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इत्येव व्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न व्रूयात् अच एव हि प्रगृह्या भवन्ति

If so, by सामर्थ्य it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the former, the mention of अण् would serve no purpose since he would have read अचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः. Or he would not have read even अचः since only vowels can be प्रगृह्या.

अस्मिस्तर्हि अण्प्रहणे सन्देहः उरण् रपर इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* उरण् रपरः which contains अण्.

असन्दिग्धे पूर्वणे, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

परामावात् । न हि उः स्थाने परेऽणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. There are no letters in अण् with the latter ण् which can come as *ādēśas* of क्.

ननु चायमास्ति कर्त्रर्थे हर्त्रर्थम् इति !

Oh there is this कर्त्रर्थे हर्त्रर्थम् !

किं च स्यात् ?

What if ?

यद्यत्र रपरत्वं स्याद्भूयो रेफयोः श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

If the रेफ here is followed by रेफ, there is the possibility for two रेफs.

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्यात्र लोपो भविष्यतीति

The elision of one of the two will take place by the *sūtra* हलो यमां यमि लोपः.

विभाषा स लोपः । विभाषा श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

That elision is optional. Hence optionally there is the possibility for two रेफs.

अयं तर्हि नित्यो लोपः रो रि इति

If so, the elision by the *sūtra* रो रि is *nitya*.

पदान्तस्येत्येवं सः

It applies only to that which is at the end of *pada*.

न शक्यः स पदान्तस्येत्येवं विज्ञातुम्, इह हि लोपो न स्यात्—जर्गुधेर्लङ्
अजर्घाः, पास्त्यर्द्धेः, अपास्याः इति

It is not possible to take it to refer only to the रेफ which is पदान्त, for, otherwise there will be no elision in अजर्घाः (imperfect of जर्गुध्), पास्त्यर्द्धेः, अपास्याः

इह तर्हि मातृणां पितृणाम् इति रपरत्वं प्रसज्येत

If so, there will be रपरत्वं in मातृणाम् and पितृणाम्.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति यदयम् ऋत इद्वातोः इति धातु-
ग्रहणं करोति

The use of *Ācārya* suggests that there is no रपरत्वं here since he reads the word धातोः in the *sūtra* ऋत इद्वातोः

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted to become a ज्ञापक ?

धातुग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, इह मा भूत मातृणाम् पितृणाम् इति; यदि चात्र
रपरत्वे स्यात् धातुग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् । रपरत्वे कृते अनन्त्यत्वादित्वं न भविष्यति ।
पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति ततो धातुग्रहणं करोति

This is the benefit of the mention of धातु that रपरत्वं may not happen in मातृणाम् and पितृणाम्. If रपरत्वं is here, धातुग्रहण will be of no avail; for after रपरत्वं is brought in, there will be no इत्व since there will be no अनन्त्यत्वं. *Ācārya* sees that there is no रपरत्वं here and hence reads धातु in the *sūtra*.

इहापि तर्हि इत्वं न प्राप्नोति—चिकीर्षति जिहीर्षति

If so, there will be no इत्वं here also—in चिकीर्षति and जिहीर्षति.

मा भूदेवम्; उपधायाश्चेत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be so; इत्वं comes there by the *sūtra* उपधायाश्च.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति मातृणां पितृणाम् इति । तस्मात् तत्र धातुग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, it will come here also in मातृणाम् and पितृणाम्. Hence there is the need for the mention of धातु in the *sūtra*.

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि परेण स्याद् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, उरजरपर इत्येव व्रूयात्

If so, by सामर्थ्य, it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would be of no avail since he would have read उरजरपरः.

अस्मिस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाग्रत्ययः इति

If so, there is doubt in the mention of अण् in the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाग्रत्ययः.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

सवर्णेऽण् तु परं लुक्कृत् *

अण् in the सवर्णग्राहकसूत्र is with the latter since there is कृत् in the *sūtra* उक्कृत्.

यदयं उक्कृत् इत्युक्कारे तपरकरणं † करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

Since he reads कृत् with कृत् at the end, he suggests that अण् here is with the latter and not with the former.

* सवर्णेऽण् तपरं लुक्कृत् is another reading.

† कृकारं तपरम् is another reading.

इण्ग्रहणेषु तर्हि सन्देहः

There is, then, doubt in the *sūtras* having इण्.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

य्वोरन्यत्र परेण स्यात्

इण् is with the latter in all places, on account of the mention of य्वोः.

यत्रेच्छति पूर्वेण, संमृद्य ग्रहणं तत्र करोति य्वोः इति । तच्च गुरु भवति

Where he wants it with the former, he combines इ and उ and reads य्वोः. It becomes heavier.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be understood to serve as ज्ञापक ?

तत्र विभक्तिनिर्देशे संमृद्य ग्रहणे अर्धचतस्रो मात्राः, प्रत्याहारग्रहणे पुनस्त्रिस्रो मात्राः, सोऽयमेवं लघीयसा न्यासेन सिद्धे सति यद्वरीयांसं यत्नमारभते तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

If there is mention of them in combination with case-suffix, there are अर्धचतस्रो मात्राः and if, on the other hand, there is mention through प्रत्याहार, there are only तिस्रो मात्राः. Since Ācārya has mentioned so heavily where there is a lighter course, he suggests that इण् is with the latter and not with the former.

किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सत्ताविवायं णकारो द्विरनुवध्यते ?

How is it that ण् is read twice as अनुवन्ध as if there is paucity of letters ?

एतत्त्रापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति

Ācārya suggests from this the परिभाषा that a *sūtra* has to be clearly understood from the commentary when it is not clear and it should not be thrown out on that score.

अणुदित्सवर्णं परिहाय पूर्वणाग्रहणं परेणेग्रहणम् इति व्याख्यास्यामः

We comment that all अणु's except in अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः are with the former and (all) इण्स are with the latter.

अमङ्गणनम्—क्षमञ्

किमर्थमिमौ मुखनासिकावचनावुभावनुवध्येते, न अकार एवानुवध्यते ?

What for are these two nasals (म् and ञ्) used as अनुवन्धस ? Will not अकार alone do ?

कथं यानि मकारेण प्रत्याहारग्रहणानि हलो यमां यमि लोपः इति ?

How will then be formed the *pratyāhāras* with म् at the end as in हलो यमां यमि लोपः ?

सन्तु अकारेण हलो यजां यमि लोपः इति

Let them be with अकार thus—हलो यजां यमि लोपः.

नैवं शक्यम्, झकारमकारपरयोरपि झकारमकारयोर्लोपः प्रसज्येत

This is not possible since the possibility will arise for the elision of झ् and भ् when they are followed by झ् and भ्.

न झकारभकारौ झकारभकारपरौ स्तः

झ and भ are not followed by झ and भ.

कथं पुमः खय्यम्परे इति !

How will then the *sūtra* पुमः खय्यम्परे be ?

एतदप्यस्तु अकारेण पुमः खय्यञ्परे इति ।

Let this also be with the *anubandha* झ thus—पुमः खय्यञ्परे

नैवं शक्यम् । झकारभकारपरौऽपि हि स्वयि रुः प्रसज्येत

This is not possible since the possibility of रु will arise even when खय् is followed by झ and भ.

न झकारभकारपरः खय् अस्ति

There is no खय् which is followed by झ and भ.

कथं डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् इति !

How will then the *sūtra* डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् be ?

एतदप्यस्तु अकारेण डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् इति

Let this be with the *anubandha* झ thus—डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम्

नैवं शक्यम् ; झकारभकारयोरपि हि पदान्तयोः झकारभकारावागमौ स्याताम्

This is not possible since the final झ and भ will get झ and भ as augments.

न झकारभकारौ पदान्तौ स्तः

There are no final झ and भ.

एवमपि पञ्चागमाः त्रय आगमिनः वैषम्यात्सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोतिः

Even then, there are five आगमस and three आगमिन्स and so there will be difficulty in the operation of यथासंख्यशास्त्र.

सन्तु तावद्येषामागमानामागमिनः सन्ति ; इकारभकारी पदान्तौ न स्त इति कृत्वा आगमावपि न भविष्यतः

Let such be the आगमस which have आगमिन्स. Since इ and अ are not final, they do not get आगमस.

अथ किमिदमक्षरमिति ? *

Now what is meant here by अक्षरम् ?

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्

अक्षरं should be taken to mean न क्षरम्.

न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वा अक्षरम्

It should be derived in either of the two ways—न क्षीयते and न क्षरति.

अश्रोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्

Or it may be derived from the root अश् with the suffix सर.

अश्रोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकः सरन् प्रत्ययः । अश्रुते इत्यक्षरम्

The root अश् is followed by the suffix सरन्. अक्षरम् is derived from the root अश्.

* Since the 14 sūtras are called अक्षरसमासिनः, he gives the meaning of अक्षर.

वर्णं बाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे *

In earlier works अक्षर was explained as letter.

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्य अक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते

Or in earlier works वर्ण is given the designation अक्षर.

किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ?

What for are those read ?

अथ किमर्थमुपदेशः क्रियते ?

Then what for is their mention made ?

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्धयर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥ †

* This suggests that there was a *Vyākaraṇa* in the form of *sūtras* before *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. There are many places where *Mahābhāṣyākāra* makes mention of पूर्वसूत्र Cf. पूर्वसूत्रेषु न वेऽनुबन्धाः न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (VII, 1, 18) etc.

† अदेवोक्तं वार्तिककारेण कृत्तिसमवायार्थे उपदेश इति, तदेव श्लोकवार्तिककारोऽप्याह (*Pratīkṣā*.) From this it is clear that the two verses—

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादक्षतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम् ।
वर्णं बाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ॥
वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्धयर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

are the *vārtikas* of a श्लोकवार्तिककार other than *Kaṭyāyana*,

सोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नायः पुष्पितः फलितः चन्द्रतारकवत्प्रतिमण्डितो
वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशिः, सर्ववेदपुण्यफलावाप्तिश्चास्य ज्ञाने भवति, मातापितरौ चास्य स्वर्गे
लोके महीयते

The *śāstra* through which the knowledge of वर्ण is got has for its subject वाक् where resides ब्रह्मन्. For its sake, for knowing the needed ones and for the sake of simplicity is it (*akṣara-samānuāya*) read. This collection of letters which is the collection of speech should be taken to be ब्रह्मराशि when it blossoms, fructifies and shines like moon and stars. Its knowledge leads one to realise the fruits realised by the study of all Vēdas and his parents thrive well in Heaven.

प्रत्याहारद्विकम् ends.

3. वृद्ध्यादिकम्

In this *āhnika* two *sūtras*, *vrddhirādāic* and *ikōṅṇavṛddhi* are discussed at length. This is called *vrddhyāhnika* since the first word of the first *sūtra* is *vrddhi*.

वृद्धिरादैच् *

Here eight topics are dealt with. They are (1) why was the *sūtra* not read as वृद्धिरादैक् ? (2) is वृद्धिरादैच् *uddiṣya* or आदैच् alone ? (3) need for the *adhikārasūtra* अथ संज्ञा at the beginning. (4) is this *sūtra* *saṃjñāvidhāyaka* or *śabdāsādhutvādividhāyaka* ? (5) of the two वृद्धिः and आदैच्, which is संज्ञा and which is संज्ञिन ? (6) अन्योन्याश्रयतावारणम् (7) the need for the word प्रत्येकम् in this *sūtra* and the next and (8) what is the need for तपरकरण in आत् of आदैच् ?

I

कुर्वं † कस्मान्न भवति, चोः कुः पदस्येति ? ‡

Why is not the final च् of the word आदैच् replaced by क् as is sanctioned by the *sūtra* चोः कुः ?

* That this *sūtra* consists of 2 words वृद्धिः and आदैच् is known from the word अनयोः in the statement of *Bhāṣyakāra* later on in this *sūtra* कृतमनयोस्मावुत्तम्. That it may be considered to be made up of three words is known from the *bhāṣya* वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् in the first *āhnika*. When आदैच् is one word, it has not taken the form आदैचम् since *saṃāsāntavidhi* is considered to be *anītya*.

† कुर्वं here does not refer to all the five letters of क्वर्ग, but to क् alone.

‡ If one thinks that this point does not arise since *Pāṇini's* *sūtras* are intended for the *lūkika* and *vāidika* words and *ādāic* is neither, he should be given this answer :—Since the *saṃjñā*, *vrddhi*, which is enjoined here may be considered to be *lūkika* and its relation to *saṃjñā* is considered to be *nītya*, the *saṃjñā* *ādāic* should also be considered a *lūkika* word. Or it may be considered to be the *anukarana* of what is found in the *pratyāhāra*. Those who uphold the theory त्रयी शब्दानां पद्धतिः should take आदैच् to be *jātiśābdeka*.

मत्वात्

Because it is taken to be *bha* (and not *pada*).

कथं भसंज्ञा ?

On what authority is it *bha* ?

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि इति

By the *sūtra* अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि.

छन्दसीत्युच्यते, न चेदं छन्दः

The word *chandasi* is found there and this is not *chandas*.

छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति *

Vyākaraṇa sūtras are treated like Vedic expressions.

यदि भसंज्ञा वृद्धिरादैर्जदेङ्गुण इति जश्त्वमपि न प्राप्नोति

If it is *bha* and not *pada*, it will not change to ज* as is found in वृद्धिरादैर्जदेङ्गुणः.

उभयसंज्ञान्यपि छन्दसि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा—स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन (R. V. IV, 50, 5) पदत्वात् कुत्वं भत्वाज्जश्त्वं न भवति ; एवमिहापि पदत्वाज्जश्त्वं भत्वात्कुत्वं न भविष्यति

Vedic expressions are found to have both the *saṃjñās* viz. स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन, where च् is changed to क् on account of *pada-saṃjñā* and क् is not changed to ग् on account of *bhasaṃjñā* in the word ऋक्वता. Similarly here च् is changed to ज् on account of *pada-saṃjñā* and it is not changed to क् on account of *bha-saṃjñā*.

* Since *Vyākaraṇa* is said to be an important limb of Vēdas in the first *āhnikā*, it may be treated like Vēdas. The reason for not having read ऐच् as ऐक् may be said to be for the sake of clearness. ऐच् alone can make the reader understand easily that *Pāṇini* refers to the *pratyāhāra*.

II

किं पुनरिवं तद्भावितग्रहणं, वृद्धिरित्येवं ये आकारैकारोकारा भाव्यन्ते तेषां ग्रहणम्, आहोस्विदादेज्मात्रस्य

Is it in this *sūtra tadbhāvitagrahaṇa** (i.e.) reference to the letters *ā*, *āi* and *āu* got by the *sūtras* enjoining *vrddhi* or reference to the letters *ā*, *āi* and *āu* alone. (In other words, does the designation *vrddhi* refer to only those letters *ā*, *āi* *āu* qualified by the term *vrddhi* or to all *ā*, *āi* and *āu* ?)

किं वातः ?

What if (whether it is *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* or no) ?

यदि तद्भावितग्रहणं शालीयः मालीय इति वृद्धलक्षणश्लो न प्राप्नोति । आन्न-
नयम् शालमयम्—वृद्धलक्षणो मयण् न प्राप्नोति, आन्नगुप्तायनिः शालगुप्तायनिः—
वृद्धलक्षणः फिञ् न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa*, the *pratyaya* 'cha' by the *sūtra* *vrddhāt chaḥ* cannot be suffixed to the words शाला and माला to get the forms शालीयः and मालीयः; the *pratyaya* 'mayaḥ' by the *sūtra* 'nityam vrddhaśarādibhyaḥ' cannot be suffixed to the words आन्न and शाल to get the forms आन्नमयम् and शालमयम्, and the *pratyaya* 'phiñ' by the *sūtra* 'udicām vrddhāt agōtrāt' to the words आन्नगुप्त and शालगुप्त to get the forms आन्नगुप्तायनिः and शालगुप्तायनिः

अथ आदेज्मात्रस्य ग्रहणं सर्वो भासः सर्वभास इति उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वे च
इत्येष विधिः प्राप्नोति, इह च तावती भार्या यस्य तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः वृद्धि-
निमित्तस्य . . . इति पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

* In *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* there is *avṛtti* of the word *vrddhi*. The reason for this doubt is both *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* and *atadbhāvitagrahaṇa* are found here. Where elision is enjoined, there is *atadbhāvitagrahaṇa* in *lōpa* and *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* in *luk*, *lap* etc.

If, on the other hand, there is reference only to *ā*, *āi* and *āu*, the *sūtra* '*uttarapadaavṛddhāu sarvaśca*'* will be applied to the word सर्वभास which is the compound of सर्वो भासः (when the word will have its final syllable *udātta*), and when तावती भाया यस्य, यावती भाया यस्य are compounded, there will be no *purvādbhāva* so that the forms तादद्भायः, and यावद्भायः cannot be formed, (but they would become तावतीभायः and यावतीभायः, which forms are not current in the world).

अस्तु तर्हि आदैर्भासस्य ग्रहणम्

In that case, let the reference be only to *ā*, *āi* and *āu*.

ननु चोक्तं सर्वो भासः सर्वभास इति उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च इत्येष विधिः प्राप्नोति ?

Has it not been said that, in that case, the *sūtra* उत्तरपदवृद्धौ . . . will apply to सर्वभास which is the compound of सर्वो भासः ?

नैव दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धाविति

It is no harm; the word उत्तरपदवृद्धौ is not the locative of उत्तरपदवृद्धिः, the compound of उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः.

कथं तर्हि ! How then ?

उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे इत्येवमेतद्विज्ञायते । तद्वत्येव चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, तद्वद्वितग्रहणे सत्यपि इह प्रसज्येत सर्वः कारकः सर्वकारक इति

It is understood in this way:— उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे. This should be interpreted this way, for, otherwise, even granting *tadbhāvitagrahṇa* that defect will appear even in the word सर्वकारकः, the compound of सर्वः कारकः.

* *Bhattojiśikṣit's* *vr̥tti*—उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या वृद्धिर्विहिता तद्वत्युत्तरपदे परे सर्वशब्दो दिक्शब्दाद्य अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ; सर्वपाञ्चालकः ; अधिकारग्रहणं किम् ! सर्वभासः.

यदप्युच्यते इह तावती भार्या यस्य तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः इति च वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य . . . इति पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोतीति, नैष दोषः ; नैवं विज्ञायते वृद्धेर्निमित्तं वृद्धिनिमित्तं, वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति

And the other point² that was raised that *pūṃvadbhāva-pratiṣēdha* will happen by the *sūtra* '*vrddhinimittasya . . .*' in the case of तावद्भार्यः, the compound of तावती भार्या यस्य and यावद्भार्यः cannot stand, for the word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य is not taken to be the genitive of वृद्धिनिमित्तम्, the compound of वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

वृद्धेर्निमित्तं यस्मिन्सोऽयं वृद्धिनिमित्तः वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति

It is the genitive of वृद्धिनिमित्त, the compound of वृद्धेर्निमित्तम् यस्मिन् सः.

किं च वृद्धेर्निमित्तम् ?

What is the *nimitta* of *vrddhi* ?

योऽसौ ककारो, वकारो णकारो वा

Kakāra, ṇakāra or ṇakāra.

अथवा यः कृत्वायाः वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्

Or that which is the *nimitta* of all *vrddhi*.

कश्च कृत्वायाः वृद्धेर्निमित्तम् ?

What is the *nimitta* of all *vrddhi* ?

यस्म्यणाणामाकारैकारौकाराणाम्

That which is (the *nimitta*) of *ā*, *āi* and *āu*.

Since there is no *vārttika* in the first two topics, it is clear that they are *Mahābhāṣyakāra*'s own.

संज्ञाविकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः

Samjñādhikārasūtra for clear conception of *samjñā*.

अथ संज्ञा इत्येवं प्रकृत्य वृद्ध्यादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः ; किं प्रयोजनम् ? संज्ञा-संप्रत्ययार्थः, वृद्ध्यादीनां शब्दानां संज्ञा इत्येष संप्रत्ययो यथा स्यात्.

There should be a *sūtra* अथ संज्ञा before *vrddhi* etc. What for ? *Samjñāsampratya-yārthah*, so that there may be clear conception that the words like *vrddhi* are *samjñās*.

इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके

For otherwise, absence of clear conception, as in the world.

अक्रियमाणे हि संज्ञाविकारे वृद्ध्यादीनां संज्ञेत्येष संप्रत्ययो न स्यात् । इदमि-
दानां बहुसूत्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । अनर्थकमित्याह । कथम् ? । यथा लोके, लोके अर्थवन्ति
चानर्थकानि च वाक्यानि * दृश्यन्ते । अर्थवन्ति तावत्—देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्ल
दण्डेन, देवदत्त गामभ्याज कृष्णाम् इति ; अनर्थकानि—दश दाडिमानि षड्पूपाः
कुण्डमजाजिनं पल्लपिण्डः अधरोरुक्रमेतत्कुमार्याः स्तैत्यकृतस्य पिता प्रतिशीनः इति

If *samjñādhikāra* is not done, one cannot have a clear concep-
tion of *vrddhi* etc. to be *samjñā*. Then many chapters
may become meaningless. Meaningless, says he; how ? As is
in the world. There are sentences in the world both with
meaning and without meaning; those that have meaning are
at first, देवदत्त . . . कृष्णाम् ; those that are meaningless are
दश . . . प्रतिशीनः.

* Note that the word वाक्यानि is used in the sense of groups of words whether they make a sense or no.

संज्ञासंशयसंदेहश्च

Removal of the doubt of *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñīn*.

क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्यः । कुतो ह्येतत् वृद्धि-
शब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संज्ञिन इति ; न पुनरादैचः संज्ञा, वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञी इति

Even when the *saṃjñādhikārasūtra* is read, doubt should be cleared as to what is *saṃjñā* and what is *saṃjñīn*. For how does one know that the word *vrddhi* is *saṃjñā* and *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *saṃjñīns* and not *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *saṃjñās* and *vrddhi*, *saṃjñīn* ?

यत्तावदुच्यते संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इति, न कर्तव्यः

The first point raised that संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः need not be.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिः

The conception of *saṃjñā* from *Ācārya*'s use.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिर्भविष्यति

One can have a definite conception of what is *saṃjñā* from *Ācārya*'s using them.

किमिदमाचार्याचारादिति ?

What is here the meaning of आचार्याचारात् ?

आचार्याणामुपचारात्

By the *vyavahāra* of *Ācārya*.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु

As is found in those related to *lōka* and *vēda*.

तद्यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वते देवदत्तौ यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति । वेदेऽपि याजिकाः * संज्ञां कुर्वन्ति स्फ्यो यूपश्चपाल इति । तत्रभवतामुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति

It is like the happenings in the world and in the *vēdas*. First in the world the parents name the child that is born as *Dēvadatta*, *Yājñadatta* in a closed room and by their use, others understand that it is his name. In the *vēdas* too *yājñikas* name sacrificial utensils as *sfhya*, *yūpa*, *caśāla* etc. and from the use of those words made by those venerable men, others understand them to be their respective संज्ञा.

एवमिहापि ; इहैव तावत् केचिद्व्याचक्षाणा आहुः वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संज्ञित इति ; अपरे पुनः सिचि वृद्धिः... इत्युक्त्वा आकारैकारौकारानुदाहरन्ति ; तेन मन्यामहे यया प्रत्याय्यन्ते सा संज्ञा, ये प्रतीयन्ते ते संज्ञित इति

So also here ; Even here some comment that the word *vrddhi* is *sañjñā* and *ā. āi* and *āu* are *sañjñins* ; others read the *sūtra* सिचि वृद्धिः... and illustrate it with *ā, āi* and *āu* ; thence do we understand that with which another is denoted is *sañjñā* and those that are denoted are *sañjñins*.

यदप्युच्यते क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्य इति

As regards the statement क्रियमाणेऽपि... वक्तव्यः

संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसन्देहश्च

There is no doubt about संज्ञा and संज्ञिन.

* याजिकाः = यज्ञकाण्डद्वाराः ऋषयः (*Yājñika*)

संज्ञासंज्ञिनोश्च असन्देहः सिद्धः ; कुतः ? आचार्याचारादेव, उक्त आचार्या-
चारः

Evidently there is no doubt with regard to संज्ञा and संज्ञिन. How? From Ācārya's ācāra; ācāryācāra has been explained.

अनाकृतिः

That which has no ākṛti.

अथवा अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः । लोकेऽपि व्याकृतिमतो मांस-
पिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा कियते

Or *sañjñā* is that which has no ākṛti and *sañjñīns* are those which have ākṛti. Even in the world the name *Dēvadatta* is given to the mass of flesh having ākṛti.*

Since it is not easy here to decide which is ākṛtimān and which is anākṛtimān, *Vārttikakāra* gives another reason thus:—

लिङ्गेन वा

Or with particular distinguishing mark.

अथवा किञ्चिद्विज्ञमासज्यं वक्ष्यामि इत्यंलिङ्गा संज्ञेति ; वृद्धिशब्दे च तद्विज्ञं
कल्प्यते, नादैच्छब्दे

Or for using a particular distinguishing mark, I shall say that *sañjñā* is that which has a particular mark; and that mark is added to *reddhī* and not to *ādāic*.

इदं तावदयुक्तम्, यदुच्यते आचार्याचारादिति

The statement *ācāryācārāt* is inappropriate.

* Ākṛti though generally means *jāti* here means *manyness*; hence *anākṛti* means *oneness*.

किमत्रायुक्तम् ?

How is it here inappropriate ?

तमेवोपालभ्य अगमकं ते सूत्रमिति, तस्यैव पुनः प्रमाणीकर्मणमित्येतदयुक्तम्, अपरितुष्यन् स्वल्पि भवाननेन परिहारेण अनाकृतिर्लिङ्गेन वा इत्याह

Having found fault with him that his *sūtra* is not clear it is inappropriate to take his *sūtra* as the authority. Only not being satisfied with it have you given other reasons *anākṛtiḥ liṅgēna vā*.

तच्चापि वक्तव्यम्

That distinguishing mark will have to be mentioned.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथैतर्हि इत्संज्ञा न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः, संज्ञाकिञ्च-मनुबन्धेषु करिष्यते । न च संज्ञाया निवृत्तिरुच्यते । स्वभावतः संज्ञा संज्ञिनं प्रत्याय्य स्वयं निवर्तते, * तेनानुबन्धानामपि निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

If it is said, then there is no need for enjoining *it-samjñā* and its elision. The distinguishing mark is attached to *anubandhas* (found in roots etc.) and no *sūtra* enjoining its disappearance need be said; as the *samjñā* enabling us to understand the *samjñā* disappears of its own accord, so also the *anubandhas* disappear.

सिध्यत्येवम्; अपाणिनीयं तु भवति; यथान्यासमेवास्तु

The desired object is thus accomplished. But it goes against *Pāṇini's* plan. Let the *sūtras* remain as they are.

* संज्ञा: संज्ञिनः प्रत्याय्य निवर्तन्ते in another reading.

ननु चोक्तम् संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके इति

Has it not been said that *saṃjñādhikāra* is for clear conception of *saṃjñā* and otherwise there will be no clear conception, as is found in the world ?

न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे । प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्शपवित्रपाणिः शुचावकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म । तत्राशक्तं वर्णनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुं । किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण ?

The same is not the case in grammar as is in the world. The *Ācārya* who is an authority for us composed these *sūtras* with great effort, having seated himself in a clean place with face turned east and with a ring made of kuśa grass worn on his fourth finger. Not even a single letter there can be found to be meaningless. What about this whole *sūtra* ?

किमतः ? What from that ?

मदशक्यम्, अतः संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

Since it is not possible (even for a letter to be *anarthaka*), they are *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*.

IV

कुतो नु स्वत्वेतत् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेवेति, न पुनः साध्वनुशासने अस्मिन् शास्त्रे साधुत्वमनेन क्रियते ?

How is it that it is decided that they are *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin* and not that they are decided to be correct from this *Śāstra* intended to decide the correctness of words ?

कृतमनयोस्साधुत्वम्

The correctness of these two* has been ascertained.

कथम्? How?

वृधिरस्मा अविशेषेणोपदिष्टः प्रकृतिपाठे, तस्मात् किन्प्रत्ययः। आदिचोऽप्यक्षर-
समाप्ताये उपदिष्टाः

The root *vrddh* is read in *prakṛtipāṭha* and the *pratyaya* 'ktin' is suffixed to it. *Āt* and *āic* are read in *Māhēśvarasūtras*.†

प्रयोगनियमार्थं तर्हिदं स्यात्—वृद्धिशब्दात्परे आदिचः प्रयोक्तव्या इति

Let then this be to decide the order of words that *ādāicah* should be used after the word *vrddhikā*.

नेह प्रयोगनियम आरभ्यते ‡

The restriction of the order of words is not commenced here.

किं तर्हि? What then?

संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्य पदान्युत्सृज्यन्ते तेषां यथेष्टमभिसंबन्धो भवति, तद्यथा
आहर पात्रम्, पात्रमाहर इति

Words are formed here. They may be connected in any way one likes, as in *āhara pātram* and *pātram āhara*.

* Two refers to *vrddhikā* and *ādāic*.

† This sentence means that the letters denoted by *āt* and *āic* are read or comprehended in *Māhēśvarasūtras*.—अइउण् and ऐऔच

‡ This clearly shows that *Pāṇini* does not deal with syntax but only with Phonology and Morphology.

आदेशास्तर्हि इमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्य आदेच आदेशः

Then may these be *ādēśas*; *ādāicah* are the *ādēśas* of the word *vrddhih*.

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यादेशा उच्यन्ते, न चात्र षष्ठीं पश्यामः

Ādēśas are for it that is in the sixth case (explicit or implied). We do not see here the sixth case.

आगमास्तर्हिमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्यदेच आगमाः

Then may these be augments; *ādāicah* are the augments of the word *vrddhih*.

आगमा अपि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यैवोच्यन्ते, लिङ्गेन च । न चात्र षष्ठी न खल्वप्यागमलिङ्गं पश्यामः

Āgamas also are for it that is in the sixth case or they are denoted to be such by some distinguishing mark. We do not see here either the sixth case or the *āgamalinga*.

इदं * खल्वपि भूयः सामानाधिकरण्यमेकविभक्तिकत्वं च ; द्वयोश्चैतद्वचति

Sāmānādhikaranyā and *īkavibhaktikateva* are here ; this happens only in two cases.

कयोः ?

In which two cases ?

विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्वा संज्ञासंज्ञिनोर्वा

In the cases wherein they are the word qualified and the qualifying word or *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*.

* इदम् = अत्र of इदमहममुमववाच (शतपथम् 1-3-5-7).

तत्रैतस्याद्विशेषणविशेष्ये इति

Of the two, let this be the case of *viśēṣaṇa* and *viśēṣya*.

तच्च न, द्वयोर्हि प्रतीतपदार्थकयोर्लोकं विशेषणविशेष्यभावो भवति । न चादौच्छब्दः प्रतीतपदार्थकः । तस्मात् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

No, it is not; for *viśēṣaṇa-viśēṣya-bhāva* happens in the world only in the case of two whose meaning is definitely known. Here the meaning of *ādāic* is not clear. Hence they are *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin*.

V

तत्र त्वेतावान् सन्देहः—कः संज्ञी का संज्ञेति

There, it is only this doubt, which is *saṁjñin* and which is *saṁjñā*.

स चापि क सन्देहः ?

Where then does that doubt arise ?

यत्रोभे समानाक्षरे । यत्र त्वन्यतरलघु सा संज्ञा, यद्वरु स संज्ञी

Where both have the same number of syllables. Where, on the other hand, one has smaller number of syllables and another larger number of syllables, the former is *saṁjñā* and the latter is *saṁjñin*.

कुत एतत् ?

Wherefrom is this ?

लघ्वर्थे हि संज्ञाकरणम् !

For indeed it is for brevity that *saṁjñās* are made !

तदाप्ययं तावदयं गुरुलघुतामेवोपलक्षयितुमर्हति

There too it does not invariably signify the *gurutā* and *laghutā*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

अनाकृतितामपि । अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः, लोकेऽपि
आकृतिमन्तो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

The state of being without *ākṛti* also. That which has no *ākṛti* is *saṃjñā* and those that have *ākṛti* are *saṃjñīns*. In the world too the name *Dēvadatta* is given to the mass of flesh which has *ākṛti*.

अथवा आवर्तिन्यः संज्ञा भवन्ति । वृद्धिशब्दश्चावर्तते, नादैच्छब्दः । तद्यथा
इतरत्रापि देवदत्तशब्दः आवर्तते, न मांसपिण्डः

Or those which are repeated are *saṃjñāns*. The word *vrddhi* is repeated and not *ādaic*. The same is the case elsewhere also—the word *Dēvadattah* is repeated and not the mass of flesh.

अथवा पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञा, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा

Or the first-mentioned is *saṃjñīn* and the next-mentioned is *saṃjñā*.

कुत एतत्?

Whence is this?

सतो हि कार्यिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम्, तद्यथा इतरत्रापि सतो मांसपिण्डस्य
देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

For operation comes only when there is an operator. The same is seen even elsewhere—the name *Dēvadattah* is given only to the existing mass of flesh.

कथं वृद्धिरदैविति ?

Then how is it *vrddhirādāic* ? (in other words, why is the order inverted here ?)

एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि चाप्येतारश्च वृद्धियुक्ता यथा स्युरिति * । सर्वत्रैव हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञा, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा, अदेङ्गुणः इति यथा

This one used by *Ācārya* for the sake of *maṅgala* may be passed over. *Ācārya*, eager of *maṅgala*, used at the commencement, the word *vrddhih* to serve as *maṅgala* for his great work; for, only such works have *maṅgala* at the commencement thrive well, making the readers strong, long-lived and prosperous. In the whole *vyākaraṇa*, the first mentioned is *saṃjñā* and the next mentioned is *saṃjñā* cf. *adān guṇaḥ*.

Having definitely mentioned the criterion to decide which is *saṃjñā* and which is *saṃjñā*, he reopens the topic of *saṃjñādhikāra* which he closed by saying न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे.

* Cf. माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं व्याकरणमम् प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि मङ्गलमध्यानि मङ्गलान्तानि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि चाप्येतारश्च मङ्गलयुक्ता यथा स्युः (*Bhāṣya* under भवादयो वातवः 1-3-1) एवं सुप्रसारेणापि विष्णुवाचकाकारस्य द्विष्ठारणात् द्विः विष्णुस्मरणरूपं मङ्गलमाचरितम् किं 'आकारो वै सर्वो वाक् सैषा स्पर्शोष्मभिर्व्यज्यमाना नानारूपा भवति' इति श्रुतेः आकारस्य सर्वशब्द-अकृतित्वात् 'अ' इति 'वङ्गा' इति शब्दब्रह्मरूपत्वश्रवणात् महामङ्गलार्थता । वार्तिककृतापि 'भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम्' इति सिद्धशब्दोच्चारणेन कृतं मङ्गलम् (*Uddyōta* under अ अ VIII-4-08).

दोषवान्त्वल्पि संज्ञाधिकारः ; अष्टमेऽपि हि संज्ञा क्रियते तस्य परमाश्रेष्ठितम्
इति, तत्रापीदमनुवत्यै स्यात्

Samjñādhikāra will be defective too; For there is *samjñā sūtra* like तस्य परमाश्रेष्ठितम् in the eighth chapter. There too this *samjñādhikāra* should have its influence.

अथवाऽऽयनेऽयं यत्नः क्रियते, न हीदं लोकाद्विद्यते । यदीदं लोकाद्विद्येत
ततो यत्राहं स्यात् । तद्यथा-अगोक्षाय कश्चिद्वा सक्थनि कर्णे वा गृहीत्वोपदिशति
अयं गौः इति ; न चास्मायाचष्टे इयमस्य संज्ञेति, भवति चास्य संप्रत्ययः

Or this attempt is inopportune, for this is not different from what is met in the world. If this is different from what happens in the world, then it deserves to be specially treated. For example, one takes hold of a cow by its thigh or ear and tells another ignorant of it 'this is a cow'; but he never tells him that it is her *samjñā*. Correct impression is formed in the mind of the hearer.

तत्रैतत्स्यात् कृतस्तत्र पूर्वैरभिसम्बन्धः इति

There, this may be said that the *samjñā-samjñā bhāva* was determined by the forefathers.

इहापि कृतः पूर्वैरभिसम्बन्धः

Here too the relation has been determined by the forefathers.

के? By whom?

आचार्यैः By the Ācāryas.

तत्रैतत्स्यात् यस्मै तद्धि संप्रत्युपदिशति तस्याकृतः इति

There may this arise that he who is now taught does not know it.

लोकेऽपि हि यस्यै सत्यस्युपदिशति तस्यादृतः । अथ तत्र कृतः, इहापि कृतो दृश्यः

In the world too he who is taught does not know it. If he knows it there, here also it should be taken that he knows it.

VI

सतो वृद्ध्यादिषु संज्ञाभावात् तदाश्रय इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

On account of inter-dependence, *sañjñā* coming in when *sañjñā* exists and *sañjñā* being comprehended through *sañjñā*s, there is no clear comprehension in the words *vrddhi* etc.

सतः संज्ञिनः संज्ञाभावात्, तदाश्रये संज्ञाश्रयेसंज्ञिनि, वृद्ध्यादिष्वितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

When *sañjñā* exists, there is need for naming it; the *sañjñā* is comprehended through *sañjñā*. Hence there is inter-dependence. On that account there is no clear comprehension of the words *vrddhi* etc. (In *sūtras* like *mṛjē vrddhi*.)

का इतरेतराश्रयता ?

How is interdependence ?

सतामादेचां संज्ञया भवितव्यम्, संज्ञया चादेचो भाव्यन्ते । तदेतदितरेतराश्रयं भवति; इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते; तद्यथा नौर्नावि बद्धा नेतरनाणाय भवति

There should be *ādāc* so that *sañjñā* may be given to it; and through *sañjñā* they are made to exist. This is interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent are not accomplished. For instance ship attached to another ship is not able to come to its rescue (while sinking).

ननु च भोः, इतरेतराश्रयाण्यपि कार्याणि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा नौः शकटं वहति, शकटं च नावं वहति

Oh! we see even the interdependent deeds being accomplished. For instance ship carries cart and cart carries ship.

अन्यदपि तत्र किञ्चित् भवति जलं स्थलं वा; स्थले शकटं नावं वहति, जले नौः शकटं वहति

Another thing is there, water or land; cart carries ship on land and ship carries cart on water.

यथा तर्हि त्रिविष्टम्भकम्

So then a holder (of books) made of three planks (may serve as an example.)

तत्राप्यन्ततः सूत्रकं भवति । इदं पुनरितरेतराश्रयमेव

There too exists the string (which keeps them together). Here there is only interdependence.

सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात्

Our object is gained on account of the *nityatva* of *śabda*.

सिद्धमेतत्

Our object is gained.

कथम्? How?

नित्यशब्दत्वात् । नित्याः शब्दाः, नित्येषु शब्देषु सतामादिनां संज्ञा क्रियते; न च संज्ञया आदैचो भाव्यन्ते

(It is so) since *śabda* is *nitya*. *Śabdas* are *nitya*; when *śabdas* are *nitya*, *sañjñā* is given to *āदैच* which already existed; their existence is not brought out by the *sañjñā*.

यदि तर्हि नित्याः शब्दाः किमर्थं शास्त्रम् ?

If *śabdāḥ* are *nitya*, what for is the *śāstra* ?

किमर्थं शास्त्रमिति चेन्नित्यत्वात्सिद्धम्

If it is asked what for the *śāstra* is, its existence is established on account of its warding capacity.

निवर्तकम् शास्त्रम्

Śāstra has the capacity to ward off.

कथम् ? How ?

मृजिरस्त्रायविशेषणोपदिष्टः, तस्य सर्वत्र मृजिबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता, तत्रानेन निवृत्तिः क्रियते मृजेरकुडित्तु प्रत्ययेषु मृजिप्रसङ्गे मारिजिः साधुर्भवति इति

The root *mṛj* is read generally. Hence it is taken that it comes everywhere. Then this *sūtra* (*mṛjāḥ vṛddhiḥ*) prohibits it. It says that, when it is followed by *pratyayas* which are neither *kit* nor *nīl*, *mārj* is the correct form in the place of *mṛj*.

VII

* [वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः प्रत्येकं वचनम् वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः प्रत्येकग्रहणं वक्तव्यम्]

Need for the word *pratyēka* in the first two *sūtras*. The word *pratyēka* should be read in the first two *sūtras*.

प्रत्येकं वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे भवत इति वक्तव्यम्

It should be said that the *saṃjñā*, *vṛddhiḥ* and *guṇah* apply to each (of *ādāic* and *adīñ* respectively.)

* The Portion marked [] is not found in certain editions.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit ?

समुदाये मा मृताम् इति

So that they may not apply collectively.

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः

The word *saha* being found elsewhere, no possibility for the *samjñā* collectively.

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोस्प्रसङ्गः । यत्रेच्छति सहमृतानां कार्यं करोति तत्र सहग्रहणम् । तद्यथा सह सुपाः उभे अभ्यस्तं सह इति

Since the word *saha* is read elsewhere, there is no possibility for the *samjñā*, *vaddhi* and *guṇah* to be applied collectively. Where he wants anything collectively, he reads the word *saha*. viz. *Saha supā, ubhē abhyastam saha*.

प्रत्यययवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः

On account of the fruit of the meaning of the sentence being seen individually.

प्रत्यययवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दिश्यते । तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्तामिति । न चोच्यते प्रत्येकमिति । प्रत्येकं च भुजिः परिसमाप्यते

The fruit of the meaning of the sentence is seen individually. For instance, in the sentence देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्ताम् the word प्रत्येकम् is not used. The fruit of eating is seen individually.

ननु चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टान्तः समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः इति । तद्यथा गर्गाः शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम् इति । अर्थिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति, न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति
Oh! the other *nyāya* also is found that the fruit of the action is found collectively, viz. *Gargāḥ śatam daṇḍyantām*. Kings want money and they do not fine them individually.

सति एतस्मिन् दृष्टान्ते यदि तत्र सहग्रहणं क्रियते, इहापि प्रत्येक-
मिति वक्तव्यम् । अथ तत्रान्तरेण सहग्रहणं सहभूतानां कार्यं भवति,
इहापि नार्थः प्रत्येकमिति वचनेन

If, in the presence of this *nyāya*, the word *saha* is read, here too the word *pratyēkam* should be read. If, without the use of the word *saha*, action may take place collectively, here too can it take place individually without the use of the word *pratyēkam*.

Here it may be noted that there is slight difference in their views between *Īrttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*; the former does not take cognisance of the *nyāya* समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः and hence thinks that there is need for the word *saha* in that case and there is no need for *pratyēkam* in the other case. *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, on the other hand, wants *saha* there and *pratyēkam* here, if one does not take recourse to the *nyāyas* or does not want them both, since the same can be determined by the application of the two *nyāyas* mentioned above.

VIII

अथ किमर्थनाकारस्तपरः क्रियते ?

Now what for is आ provided with त् ?

आकारस्य तपरकरणं सवर्णार्थम्

Taparakarana of *ākāra* is for *savarṇa*.

आकारस्य तपरकरणं क्रियते । किं प्रयोजनम् ? सवर्णार्थम् । तपरस्तत्कालस्य
इति तत्कालानां सवर्णानां ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Ā is provided with *t*. What for? For the sake of *savarṇa*—
So that it may denote *savarṇas* of the same quantity by the
sūtra तपरस्तत्कालस्य.

केषाम्? For what (*savarṇas*)?

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानाम्!

For *ā* with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* accent.

किं च कारणं न स्वात्?

Why could they not be denoted?

भेदकत्वात्वरस्य, भेदका उदात्तादयः

On account of the differentiating capacity of accent.
Udātta etc. are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते भेदका उदात्तादय इति?

How is it understood that *udātta* etc. are differentiating elements?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके—य उदात्ते कर्तव्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै चपेटां ददाति अन्यत् त्वं करोषीति

For thus is seen in the world—him who mispronounces *anudātta* for *udātta*, the teacher of pupils who learn section by section of a work gives him a blow with open hand saying that you are mispronouncing.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् —

There is this benefit, but —

किं तर्हीति!

Then what is suggested by *but*?

भेदकत्वाद्गुणस्य

Bhēdakato'ād guṇasya.

भेदकत्वादुणस्येति वक्तव्यम्

It should be said *bhēdakatvād guṇasya* (i.e.) *svarasya* in the previous *vārttika* should be replaced by *guṇasya*.

किं प्रयोजनम्?

What is the use?

आनुनासिक्यं नाम गुणः, तद्विज्ञस्यापि ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Nasalisation is a *guṇa*; so that it may apply to that differentiated by it.

किं च कारणं न स्यात्?

Why should it not refer?

भेदकत्वादुणस्य—भेदका गुणाः

On account of the differentiating capacity of *guṇa*. *Guṇas* are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्जायते भेदका गुणा इति?

How is it known that *guṇas* are *bhēdakas*?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके—एकोऽयमात्मा उदकं नाम, तस्य गुणभेदात् अन्यत्वं भवति, अन्यदिदं शीतम् अन्यदिदमुष्णम् इति

For thus is seen in the world. The one object—water—becomes different with different qualities—this is cool and this is hot.

ननु च सोः, अभेदका अपि गुणा दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा देवदत्तो मुष्ण्यपि जश्त्रपि शिष्यपि स्वमास्यां न जहाति, तथा बालो युवा वृद्धो वत्सो दम्भो बलीवर्द इति

Oh! there are *guṇas* which do not sometimes differentiate. For instance as *Dēvadatta* is not bereft of his name

whether his head is completely shaven, full of clotted hair or has tuft, so also an ox is not bereft of its name whether it is young, middle-aged, old, a calf or a tamed animal.

उभयमिदं गुणेषूक्तम् भेदका अभेदका इति । किं पुनरत्र न्याय्यम् ?
Here both have been said with reference to *guṇas* that they are *bhēdaka* and *abhēdaka*. Which is right here ?

अभेदका गुणा इत्येव न्याय्यम्

It is right to take that *guṇas* are *abhēdaka*.

कुत एतत् ? Why is it ?

यदयं अस्मिदधिसकृद्ध्यक्ष्यामननुदात्तः इत्युदात्तग्रहणं करोति, तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽभेदका गुणा इति । यदि हि भेदका गुणाः स्युः उदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत्

Since the *Ācārya* mentions the word *udātta* in the *sūtra* *asthi...*, he indicates that *guṇas* are *abhēdakas*. If *guṇas* are *bhēdakas*, he would have pronounced the words with *udātta* accent.

यदि तर्हि अभेदका गुणा अनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तत्स्वरितान्तादेः स्वरितान्ताच्च प्राप्नोति

If, then, *guṇas* are *abhēdakas*, that which is said for a word which has its first syllable *anudātta*, or its last syllable *udātta*, will be applied to a word which has its first syllable *svarita* or the last syllable *svarita*.

नैष दोषः, आश्रीयमाणो गुणो भेदको भवति, तद्यथा शुक्लमालमेत कृष्णमालमेत, तत्र यः शुक्ल आलब्धव्ये कृष्णमालमेत न हि तेन यथोक्तं कृतं भवति

This is no defect. The *guṇa* that is specifically mentioned along with the object serves as a differentiating element. For instance when it is said 'Tie to the stake the white', 'Tie to the stake the black', if one ties the black when the white has to be tied, he has not done as is ordained.

असंदेहार्थस्तर्हि तकारः । ऐजित्युच्यमाने सन्देहः स्यात्, किमिमावैचावेक
आहोस्वित् आकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यत इति

Takāra is then to avoid the doubt. If *āic* alone is read, there is the doubt, whether the *pratyāhāra āic* alone is referred to here or *ā* also.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रति-
पत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति । त्रयाणां ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः । अन्यत्रापि
अयमेवंजातीयकेषु सन्देहेषु न कंचिद्वर्णं करोति, तद्यथा औतोऽम्शमोः इति

There is this doubt alone. In all cases of doubt we take recourse to this that detailed knowledge arises from the commentary and hence doubt does not enable the *sāstra* to be neglected. We comment that *āic* refers to all the three. He has not made any attempt in similar cases of doubt (to remove the same), viz. *ātōmśasōh*.

इदन्तर्हि प्रयोजनम् * आन्तर्यतस्त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा
आदेशा मा भवन् इति, खट्वा इन्द्रः खट्वा इन्द्रः, खट्वा उदकं खट्वादकं, खट्वा ईषा खट्वा
खट्वा ऊडा खट्वादोडा, खट्वा एलका खट्वालका, खट्वा ओदनः खट्वाददनः, खट्वा ऐतिकायनः
खट्वाऐतिकायनः, खट्वा औपगवः खट्वापगव इति

This is the benefit—*ādēśas* of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* in the following:—खट्वा इन्द्रः . . . खट्वापगवः.

अथ कियमाणेऽपि तकारे कस्मादेव त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्र-
चतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति ?

Even when *takāra* is read, how cannot *ādēśas* of three and four *mātrās* replace *sthānin* with three and four *mātrās* ?

* It should be understood that त् is not for आ but for ऐच्

तपरस्तत्कालस्य इति नियमात्

By the *sūtra-taparustatkālasya*.

तनु तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः ?

Is not *tapara* a *bahuvrīhi* compound ?

नेत्याह, तादपि परः तपरः

No, says he ; it is also a *tapuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः ऋदोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः स्तवः, लवः पवः
इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *tapuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* ऋदोरप् will operate only with respect to यवः and स्तवः and not with respect to लवः and पवः.

नैप तकारः

This is not *takāra*.

कस्तर्हि ? What then ?

दकारः *Dakāra*.

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use in reading *ḍakāra* ?

अथ किं तकारे ! यद्यसंदेहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखमुल्लार्थस्तकारः
दकारोऽपि

What is it in reading *takāra* ? If it is to avoid the doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

इको गुणवृद्धी.

Eight topics are dealt with in this *sūtra*:—(1) the need for *ikaḥ* in this *sūtra* (2) the need for the *anuvṛtti* of the words *guṇa* and *vrddhi* from the previous *sūtras* (3) whether this *sūtra* and *alōṅtyasya* have the relationship of *śiṣṣāśāsilva* (4) whether this *sūtra* and *alōṅtyasya* are in the relationship of *utsargāpavāda* (5) whether this *sūtra* and *alōṅtyasya* are not at all connected with each other (6) wherever *guṇa* or *vrddhi* is enjoined, the word *ikaḥ* appears there (7) what will be the harm if the word *vrddhi* is not in this *sūtra*? (8) whether this *sūtra* is a *vūthi-sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā*.

I

इम्ग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What is the need for the word इह (in this *sūtra*)?

इम्ग्रहणं आत्सन्ध्यक्षरव्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्

The use of इह is to ward off *guṇa* to *ā*, diphthongs and consonants.

इम्ग्रहणं कियते । किं प्रयोजनम् ? आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थं व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थं च । आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत्, वाता वाता, आकारस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इम्ग्रहणान्न भवति । सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थम्, ग्लायति ग्लायति, सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इम्ग्रहणान्न भवति । व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्, उम्भिता उम्भितुम् उम्भितव्यं, व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इम्ग्रहणान्न भवति

The word इह is used. What for? To ward off *guṇa* (*ā*) in the place of *ā*, diphthongs and consonants. First as regards the warding off *ā* from being *sthāvin* of *guṇa*, *guṇa* may replace *ā* by the *sūtra* (*sārvadhātukārdhādihātukayōh*) while the words *yātā* and *vātā* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of इह. As regards diphthongs, *guṇa* (*ē*) may replace *ā* while the words *glāyati* and *mlāyati* are formed; it does not take place on account of the

use of इक्. As regards consonants, *guṇa* (a) may replace consonants while the words *umbhitā*, *umbhitum*, and *umbhitavyam* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of इक्.

आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थेन तावन्नार्थः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, यदयम् आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

First it is not to ward off *guṇa* to *ā*. Ācārya's use suggests that *guṇa* does not replace *ā*, since he uses the *anubandha* 'k' in the *sūtra*—*ātōnupasargō kah*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka*?

किक्करणे एतल्लयोजनं विड्वतीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्यात्; यदि चाकारस्य गुणः स्यात् किक्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृते द्वयोरकारयोः पररूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्याद् गोदः कम्बलद इति; पश्यति तु आचार्यो नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of *kitkarana*, that *ā* may be elided by the *sūtra* *किङ्कति*...; if *guṇa* can replace *ā*, *kitkarana* will be of no use; for, in the formation of the word *gōdah*, *go-dā-a* will become *gō-dā-a* if *guṇa* replaces *ā*, and then *gō-d-a* if *pararūpa* comes (by the *sūtra* 'atō guṇē'). So also is *kambalada*. But Ācārya sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace *ā* and hence uses the *anubandha* 'k'.

सन्व्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः; उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्व्यक्षरस्य गुणो न भविष्यति

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to diphthongs since *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their being read separately.

व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नाथेः; आचार्येप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति यदयं जनेदं शास्ति

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to consonants since the use of *ḍit* by *Ācārya* in the *sūtra* **(saptāmyām) janēr ḍah* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकं!

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka*?

डित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनं, डिति इति टिलोपो यथा स्यात् । यदि च व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः स्याद् डित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृते लयाणामकाराणां पररूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्यात् उपसरजो मन्दुरज इति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततो जनेदं शास्ति

The use of *ḍit-karana* is that the final syllable may be dropped if it is followed by a *ḍit*. If consonant were to be replaced by *guṇa*, *ḍit-karana* will be of no use; for after *guṇa* replaces the consonant, the forms *upasarajāḥ* and *mandurajāḥ* * will be got by applying the *sūtra* dealing with *pararūpa* twice. But *Ācārya* sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant and hence uses *ḍit* in the *sūtra* **saptāmyām janēr ḍah* *

नैतानि सन्ति ज्ञापकानि । यत्तावदुच्यते कित्करणं ज्ञापकं नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, उत्तरार्थमेतत्स्यात् तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः इति

These are not *jñāpakas*. What was first put forth that *kit-karana* in *ātōnupusurgē kah* suggests that *guṇa* does

* *mandura - jan - a* : *mandura - jan - a* : *manduraja*

not replace *ā* does not stand; for it is useful in the interpretation of the *sūtra* 'tundusōkayōḥ parimrjāpanudōḥ.'*

यत्तर्हि गापोऽक् इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

If so, *kāṭharaṇa* in the *sūtra* 'gāpōṣṭak' serving no other purpose suggests it,

यदप्युच्यते उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्ध्यक्षस्य गुणो न भवतीति, यदि यद्यत्सन्ध्यक्षस्य प्राप्नोति तत्तदुपदेशसामर्थ्याद्वाच्यते, आयादयोऽपि तर्हि न प्राप्नुवन्ति

The other point that was put forth that *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their separate *upadēśa*, if acceded, will lead to this:— whatever takes places to diphthongs, it will be warded off by the separate *upadēśa* and hence (the *ādēśa*) *āy* etc. cannot function.

नैष दोषः; यं विधिं प्रत्युपदेशोऽनर्थकः स विधिर्बाध्यते, यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव तामो वाच्यते, गुणं च प्रत्युपदेशोऽनर्थकः आयादीनां पुनर्निमित्तमेव

This (objection) cannot stand; for the *vidhi* in respect of which *upadēśa* is of no use is warded off and that in respect of which it is only *nimitta*, it is not warded off; in respect of *guṇa*, it is of no use and in respect of *āy* etc., it is only *nimitta*.

यदप्युच्यते जनेर्देवचने ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, सिद्धे विधिराम्यमाणो ज्ञापकार्यो भवति, न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति । कुतो ह्येतत् जनेर्गुण उच्यमानोऽकारो भवति न पुनरेकारो वा स्यादोकारो वेति !

The third point that *dit* in *janēr dāḥ* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace consonant does not stand; for a *vidhi*, only

* *Kā* is useful to prevent *guṇa* in the words *tundoparimrjāḥ* and *śchāṭpanudōḥ*.

when it is proved to be of no use, is taken to be *jñāpaka* and the desired form is not obtained by replacing *n* in *jan* by *guṇa*. How is it that, when it is taken that *guṇa* replaces *n* in *jan*, it should be only *a* and not *ē* or *ō*?

आन्तर्यतोऽर्धमात्रिकस्य व्यञ्जनस्य मात्रिकोऽकारो भविष्यति

By closer similarity the consonant having half a *mātrā* is replaced by *a* which has one *mātrā*.

एवमप्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति

If so, the nasalised *a* may come.

पररूपेण शुद्धो भविष्यति

It becomes non-nasalised by *para-rūpa* (since the *a* that follows it is a non-nasalised one.)

एवं तर्हि गमेरप्ययं डो वक्तव्यः, गमेश्च गुण उच्यमान आन्तर्यतः ओकारः प्राप्नोति । तस्मादिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, this *ḍit* should be read for *gam* also; * for if it is said that *guṇa* replaces *m* in *gam*, *ō* will replace it by closer similarity †. Hence *ik* should be read in this *sūtra*.

From the foregoing part it may be clear that, according to the *pūrvapakṣa*, *ikaḥ* need not be read here and so the two *sūtras*—*ikō guṇavṛddhī* and *nā dhātulōpa ārdhadhātukē* may be read together. The *siddhānta* says that the word *ikaḥ* is needed here to prevent *ō* replacing *m* in *gam* and hence *ikō guṇavṛddhī* should be read as a separate *sūtra*.

* After the *sūtra*—*anpūṇyān janēr ḍaḥ* (III, 2, 97), the *sūtra* *anyāṇāpi dṛṣyātē* (III 2, 10) is read. If the root *gam* is taken under the word *anyā*, this answer holds good.

† Similarity referred to here is that both are labials.

II

यदि इमहणं कियते द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् इत्येतेऽपि इकः प्राप्नुवन्ति

If the word इक् is read in the *sūtra*, *āu* etc. (enjoined by the *sūtras* दिव औत्, पथिमध्यमुक्षामात्, त्यदादीनामः) to form the words द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् will replace only इक्.*

संज्ञया विधाने नियमः

Restriction on the injunction with the *saṃjñā*.

संज्ञया ये विधीयन्ते तेषु नियमः

Only those which are enjoined with the appellation *guṇa* or *vrddhi* come under this *sūtra*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ?

Is there any need for this to be said ?

न हि

No, certainly not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गम्यते ?

How can it be understood if it is not so said ?

गुणवृद्धिमहणसामर्थ्यात्

On account of the significance of having read *guṇavrddhi* in this *sūtra*.

कथं पुनरन्तरेण गुणवृद्धिमहणम् इको गुणवृद्धी स्याताम् ?

How then can *guṇa* and *vrddhi* replace इक् if the expression *guṇavrddhi* is not read here ?

* Since *ā*, *āu* and *a* are either *vrddhi* or *guṇa* letter, this *pāreopakeśa* arose.

प्रकृतं गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते

The expression *guṇavṛddhī* mentioned before is supplied here.

क प्रकृतम् ! *

Where is it mentioned before ?

वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण इति

In the *sūtras*—*vṛddhirādāic* and *adēṇ guṇah*.

यदि तदनुवर्तते अदेङ्गुणो वृद्धिश्च इत्येङ्गो वृद्धिसंज्ञापि मामोति

If it (*vṛddhiḥ*) follows from the first *sūtra*, the second *sūtra* will have to be read as अदेङ्गुणो वृद्धिश्च so that *ā*, *ē* and *ō* will get the appellation *vṛddhi* also.†

संबन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते । वृद्धिरादैच्, अदेङ्गुणः वृद्धिरादैच्, तत इको गुणवृद्धी इति, गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते, आदैजदेङ्गुणं निवृत्तम्

Connected element † follows thus—*vṛddhirādāic*, *adēṇ guṇah vṛddhirādāic*, *ikō guṇavṛddhī*. Then the expression *guṇavṛddhī* is supplied and the expression *ādāijadēṇ* is made to recede.

अथवा मण्डूकागतयोऽधिकाराः, यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति, तद्वदधिकाराः

Or *anuvṛttis* are like frog-leap. As frogs skip over intermediate things, so are *adhikāras*.‡

* The objection raised here is that, tho' *vṛddhiḥ* and *guṇah* have been already mentioned, the compound *guṇavṛddhī* has not been mentioned.

† This statement is based on the assumption that a word in the first *sūtra* cannot be supplied in the third unless it is taken to follow in the second.

‡ *vṛddhi* connected with its *sanjñā* is taken to follow.

§ This suggests that the word *vṛddhi* may be made to follow in the third *sūtra* without passing through the second.

अथवा एकयोगः करिष्यते वृद्धिरद्वैजदेहगुणः, तत इको गुणवृद्धी इति,
न तत्कार्योऽनुवृत्तिर्भवति

Cf. the first two *sūtras* are made into one as *vrddhi-rādāij-
adēḥ guṇah*. Then is read *ikō guṇavrddhī*. There is no
anuvṛtti within one and the same *sūtra*.

अथवा अन्यवचनात् चकाराकरणाच्च प्रकृतापवादो विज्ञायते, यथोत्सर्गेण
प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति

Or on account of giving another *saṁjñā* and the absence of
ca, it is understood to be an exception to what has been said
before, in the same way as a special rule prevents the applica-
tion of a general rule.

अन्यस्याः संज्ञायाः वचनात् चकारस्य चानुकर्षणार्थस्य अकरणात् प्रकृताया
वृद्धिसंज्ञाया गुणसंज्ञा बाधिका भविष्यति, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको
भवति *

Since another appellation is given, and since the word *ca*
which denotes grammatical attraction is not read, *guṇa-saṁjñā*
sets aside the *vrddhi-saṁjñā* mentioned first, in the same
way as a special rule sets aside what will, otherwise, happen
by the general rule.

अथवा वक्ष्यत्येतत् अनुवर्तन्ते च नाम विधेयः, न चानुवर्तनादेव भवन्ति । किं
तर्हि ! † यत्नाद्भवन्ति इति

Or he is going to say this—that, though rules have the capacity
to be supplied later on, they do not do so only on account of
it. By what then? By the effort.

* This is the *vivaraṇabhāṣya* to the previous one.

† Cf. अकर्तव्यत्वविशिष्टपुनर्गुणवृद्धिग्रहणं यत्नः (*Uddṛṣṭa*).

अथवा उभयं निवृत्तम्, तदपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or both* are not taken by *anuvṛtti*, but we take them by *alhyāhāra*.

It may be noted here that the *anuvṛtti* of the words *vrddhi* and *guṇa* is dealt with in seven ways. First the word *vrddhi* is taken to the third *sūtra* through the second. The objection raised therein was that *a, ē & ō* will get the appellation of *vrddhi* also. (2) It was met by the statement that the word *vrddhi* alone is not taken to the second, but *vrddhi* attached to *ādāic*. The defect here is how *ādāic* alone was made to recede. (3) Then the principle of 'Frog-leap' was applied. Recourse is taken to it only in cases where there is no other go. (4) Hence he wishes to take the *sūtras* one and two as one. It was so done on the idea that there will be no *anuvṛtti* in one and the same *sūtra*. But sometimes it is seen that there is *anuvṛtti* even in one and the same *sūtra*. (5) Hence he takes recourse to the point that the appellation *guṇa* serves as an *apavāda* to the appellation *vrddhi* to *a, ē* and *ō*. The defect here is this:—The *uddēśya* in the *apavādasūtra* is that which is otherwise qualified to be the *uddēśya* in the *utsarga-sūtra*. Here the *uddēśya* of the *utsarga* is *ādāic* and that of the *apavāda* is *adīn*. (6) Then he says that *yatna* and not *anuvṛtti* alone serves the purpose. Here the defect is this:—the expression *ganavṛddhī* in the third *sūtra* suggests that the expression supplied from the previous two *sūtras* is *saṃjñāpara* and that suggests that this is *arthapara*. (7) Hence the author takes recourse to the practice found in the world that we take in only those that we want.

* Both refers to *guṇa* and *vrddhi*.

III & IV

किं पुनरवमलोऽन्त्यशेषः, आहोस्विदलोऽन्त्यापवादः !

Is this *sūtra alōntyāśēṣa* or *alōntyāpavāda* ; (i.e.) Do this *sūtra* and the *sūtra 'alōntyāśya'* form a whole sentence, one serving as part of another or are they antagonistic to each other ? *

कथं चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, कथं वा तदपवादः ?

How is this *sūtra tacchēṣa* † or how is it *tadapavāda* ?

यद्येकं वाक्यं—तच्च इदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवेन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति—ततोऽयं तच्छेषः । अथ नाना वाक्यं—तच्च इदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अन्त्यस्य चानन्त्यस्य च इति—ततोऽयं तदपवादः

If they are one sentence—*vidhis* happen to the final *al* and the *guṇa* and *vrddhi* happen to the *ik* which is the final *al*—this *sūtra* is *tacchēṣa*. If they are different sentences—*vidhis* happen to the final *al* and *guṇa* and *vrddhi* happen to *ik* which is both final and non-final, it is *tadapavāda*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here ?

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधन्विल्लटशिथिप्रक्षुद्रेधिग्रहणम्

If *guṇa* and *vrddhi* are taken to happen to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vrddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mṛj*, *puṅgantalaghūpadha*, *rech*, *drś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣūdra*.

* In the interpretation of the *sūtra sārvaadhātukātrilhadhātukayōh* there is uncertainty of *aṅguṇa* and *guṇaś*. Since the former is in the genitive case, *alōntyāśya* appears on the scene. By the mention of the latter, *ikāś* appears on the scene. Hence arises this doubt.

† The word *tacchēṣa* may be taken here as *bahuvrīhi* and *ta/guṇaś*. *Śēṣa-śēṣi-bhāva* is here *paricchēḍya-paricchēḍuka-bhāva*.

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्यस्येति चेत् मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधच्छिद्यशिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । मिदेर्गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वादि न प्राप्नोति ; मृजेर्वृद्धिः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वादि न प्राप्नोति ; पुगन्तलघूपधस्य गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वादि न प्राप्नोति ; ऋच्छेर्लिटि गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वादि न प्राप्नोति ; ऋदृशोऽङि गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वादि न प्राप्नोति ; शिप्रक्षुद्रयोर्गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वादि न प्राप्नोति

If it is taken that *guṇa* and *vrddhi* happen only to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vrddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mrj*, *pugantalaḥpādhā*, *reṣ*, *drś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra*; *mīdēr guṇah*, *ikah* should be added, for *i* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *mrjērvrddhiḥ*, *ikah* should be added, for *r* cannot be replaced by *vrddhi* since it is not final; *pugantalaḥpādhāsyā guṇah*, *ikah* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *reṣhēr līṭi guṇah*, *ikah* should be added: for *r* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *drśōñi guṇah*, *ikah* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *kṣiprakṣudrayōrguṇah*, *ikah* should be added, for *i* or *u* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final.

सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गानिगन्तस्य

Possibility of *sarvādeśa* to the *aṅga*s which do not end in *ik*.

सर्वादेशश्च गुणोऽनिगन्तस्य प्राप्नोति, याता वाता

Guṇa will replace the whole if the *aṅga* does not end in *ik* as in *yātā*, *vātā*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अलोऽन्यस्य इति षष्ठी चैव बन्त्यमिक्तमुपसङ्गान्ता, अङ्गस्येति च स्थानषष्ठी । तद्यदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तस्य गुणः सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति

The genitive mentioned in *alōntyasya* goes with the final *ik*. The genitive in *aṅgasya* is *sthānaśaṣṭhī*. Hence if *guṇa* is enjoined to an *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*, it should replace the whole of it.

नैष दोषः, यथैव बलोऽन्त्यस्येति षष्ठी अन्त्यमिकमुपसंक्रान्ता एवमङ्गस्येत्यपि स्थानषष्ठी, तद्वदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तत्र षष्ठ्येव नास्ति, कुतो गुणः कुतः सर्वादेशः?

The objection does not stand; just as the genitive mentioned in *alōntyasya* goes with the final *ik*, so also is *sthānaśaṣṭhī* in *aṅgasya*; for there is no genitive in the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*. Hence where is the possibility of *guṇa* or *sarvādeśa*?

एवं तर्हि नायं दोषसमुच्चयः

If so, they are not two coordinate defects.

किं तर्हि? What then?

पूर्वपिक्षोऽयं दोषः; द्वर्थे चायं चः पठितः । मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलवूपधच्छि-
दशिक्षिप्रभुदेध्विम्यहणं सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गो बनिगन्तस्येति

The second is subordinate to the first; the word *ca* is read in the sense of *hi*. *Ik* should be read in the *sūtras*—*midēr guṇah* etc; for the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik* will be wholly replaced by *ādeśa*.

मिदेर्गुणः, इक इति वचनादन्त्यस्य न, अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति वचनादिको न, उच्यते च गुणः, स सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति, एवं सर्वत्र

The *sūtra*, '*midēr guṇah*'—by the *sūtra* '*ikō guṇaorddhī*' *guṇa* does not replace the final; by the *sūtra* '*alōntyasya*', it does not replace *ik*. But *guṇa* is enjoined and hence it should be a *sarvādeśa*. So also elsewhere.

अस्तु तर्हि तदुपवादः

If so, let it be *tadupavāda*.

इच्छात्रस्येति चेजुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकद्वस्वाद्योर्गुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधः

If it is for all *ik*, prohibition of *guṇa* to the *ik* that is not final enjoined by the *sūtra* 'jusi sārva dhātukārdh dhātukayōhrasvāsyā guṇaḥ' etc.

इच्छात्रस्येति चेत् जुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकद्वस्वाद्योर्गुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । जुसि गुणः, स यथेह भवति अजुहवुः अविमयुः इति, एवम् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणः, स यथेह भवति कर्ता हर्ता नयति तरति इति, एवम् ईहिता ईहितुम् ईहितव्यम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । द्वस्वस्य गुणः, स यथेह भवति हे अग्ने हे वायो इति, एवं हे अग्निचित् हे सोममुद् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । जसि गुणः, स यथेह भवति अग्नयः वायवः इति, एवम् अग्निचितः सोमसुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । ऋतो डि सर्वनामस्थानयोर्गुणः, स यथेह भवति कर्तरि कर्तारो कर्तारः इति, एवं सुकृति सुकृतौ सुकृतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । धेङिति गुणः, स यथेह भवति अग्नये वायवे इति, एवम् अग्निचिते सोमसुते इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । ओर्गुणः, स यथेह भवति वाग्व्यः माण्डव्यः इति, एवं सुश्रुत सौश्रुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

As *guṇa* occurs in *ajuhavuh*, *abibhāvuh* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* 'jusi guṇaḥ' so also will it occur in *anēnijuh*, *parjavarōviṣuh* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *kartā*, *hartā*, *nayati* and *tarati* by the application of the *sūtra* 'sārva dhātukārdh dhātukayōḥ', so also will it occur in *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*. As *guṇa* occurs in *agnē*, *vāyō* by the application of the *sūtra* 'hrasvasyā guṇaḥ', so also will it occur in the vocatives *agnicit*, *sōmasut* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *agnayah*, *vāyavah* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* 'jusi guṇaḥ', so also will it occur in *agnicitah*, *sōmasutah*, etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *kartari*, *kartārāu*, *kartārōḥ* etc. by the application of *rtā*

in *sarvanāmaśhānuyōḥ guṇaḥ*, so also will it occur in *sukṛti*, *sukṛtāu* and *sukṛtaḥ*: As *guṇa* occurs in *bābhravyaḥ*, *māṇḍanyāḥ* etc., so also will it occur in *sāuśrutaḥ* derived from *suśrut*.

नैष दोषः

This objection cannot stand.

पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थम्

The expression *pugantulaghūpadha* is to restrict the cases of *ik* which are not final.

पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थं भविष्यति — पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैवानन्त्यस्य नान्यस्यानन्त्यस्येति

The expression *pugantulaghūpadha* is to restrict (their application to *ik* which is not final) (i. e.) to restrict it only to such *anantya* *iks* as are *pugantulaghūpadha*.

प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् *

The *niyama* will be only to that already mentioned.

किं च प्रकृतम् ?

What is it that has been already mentioned ?

सर्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरिति । तेन भवेदिह नियमान्न स्याद् ईहिता ईहितुं ईहितव्यम् इति, ह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणस्त्वनियतः सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति

The *sūtra* '*sarvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*'. Therefore prohibition of *guṇa* will occur by the *niyama* in the cases of *īhitā* *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*; but not in the cases which come under the operation of the *sūtras* like *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*; and hence the *guṇa* will occur there to *ik* which is not final also.

* प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् is another reading.

अथाप्येवं नियमः स्यात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्य सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेवेति एवमपि सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणोऽनियतः सोऽनन्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति, ईहिता, ईहितम्, ईहितव्यम् इति

If the *nīyama* is taken in this form that *guṇa* will occur to *pugantalaḥpādha* only when *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* follow, the *guṇa* enjoined by the *sūtra* '*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*' will become unrestricted, so that it will occur to *anvṛtya ik* in *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*.

अथाप्युभयतो नियमः स्यात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैव सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेव पुगन्तलघूपधस्य इति, एवमप्ययं जुसि गुणः अनियतः, सोऽनन्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति अनेदिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इति

If the *nīyama* is done both ways *pugantalaḥpādhasyāiva sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* and *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōreva pugantalaḥpādhasya*, even then the *guṇa* enjoined by *jusi guṇaḥ* becomes *anīyata* so that *guṇa* will occur in *anēdijuh*, *parvasēviṣuḥ* etc.

एवं तर्हि नायं तच्छेषः नापि तदपवादः । अन्यदेवेदं परिभाषान्तरमसंबद्ध-
मनया परिभाषया

If so, this is neither *tacchēṣa* nor *tadapavāda*; but a different *paribhāṣā* not at all connected with it (*alōṇtyasya*.)

V

परिभाषान्तरमिति च मत्वा कौष्टीयाः पठन्ति— * नियमादिको गुणवृद्धी
भवतो † विप्रतिषेधेन इति

* *Nīyama* is the name to the *sūtra* '*alōṇtyasya*' by the previous grammarians.

† It is worth while to see if there is another reading भवति.

Thinking that it is another *paribhāṣā*, *krōṣṭrīyas* read that the *sūtra* 'ikō guṇavṛddhī' operates against *alōṇtyasya* by *pūrva-vipratīṣēdha* *

यदि चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, तेनैव तस्यायुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः; अथापि तदपवादः, उत्सर्गापवादयोरप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः । तत्र नियमस्यावकाशः राज्ञः क्व च राजर्कायम्, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः चयनं चायको लवनं लावकः इति । इहोमयं प्राप्नोति मेचति मार्षि इति, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन

If it is *tacchēṣa*, there is no occasion for *vipratīṣēdha*, or if it is *ladapavāda*, then too there is no occasion for *vipratīṣēdha* between general rules and exceptions. Of them *alōṇtyasya* operates when the word *rājakāyam* is formed by the *sūtra* 'rājñah ku ca' and *ikō guṇavṛddhī* operates when the words *cāyanam*, *cāyakah*, *lavanam*, *lāvakah* etc. are formed, while the words *mādyati* and *mārṣi* are formed, both begin to operate; but *ikōguṇavṛddhī* operates prohibiting the latter.

नैव युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्युच्यते, पूर्वश्चायं योगः, परो नियमः

This *vipratīṣēdha* is not proper; for it is said that, in conflict between two rules, the latter prohibits the former and this *sūtra* is the former and *alōṇtyasya* is the latter.

इष्टवाची परशब्दः, विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तद्भवति इति

The word *para* means the *needed one*. In conflict, that which is needed operates.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः, न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः ।

* It means the conflict between two *sūtras* where the former prohibits the latter.

Even then the *vipratīṣṭha* is not proper; for there is occasion for *vipratīṣṭha* only if one thing is to be operated upon by two *sūtras* and here there is none which is to be operated by two.

नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिषेधः

Vipratīṣṭha does not invariably occur when one alone is to be operated by two.

किं तर्हि? What then?

असम्भवोऽपि; स चास्यत्रासम्भवः

Non-happening too; that *asambhava* is found here.

कोऽलावसम्भवः?

What is that *asambhava*?

इह तावद् ब्रूयेम्यः प्लक्षेम्यः इति एकः स्थानी द्वावादेशौ, न चास्ति सम्भवः यदेकस्य स्थानिनो द्वावादेशौ स्याताम्; इहेदानीं मेघति मेघतः मेघन्ति इति द्वौ स्थानिनौ एक आदेशः, न चास्ति संभवः यत् द्वयोः स्थानिनोरेक आदेशः स्यात् इति; एषः असंभवः, सत्येतस्मिन्नसंभवे युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः

At first in the examples *vrkṣēbhyah*, *plakṣēbhyah* there is one *sthānin* and two *ādēśas* and it cannot be that one *sthānin* has two *ādēśas*; on the other hand, in the examples *mālyatī*, *mālyataḥ*, *mālyanti* there are two *sthānins* and one *ādēśa* and it cannot be that two *sthānins* can have one *ādēśa*; this is *asambhava* and when there is this *asambhava*, *vipratīṣṭha* can fit in.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्वयोर्हि सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोर्विप्रतिषेधो भवति, अतवकाशश्चायं योगः

Even then *vipratīṣṭha* cannot fit in; for there is opportunity for *vipratīṣṭha* only when the two *sūtras* have room to operate elsewhere; and this *sūtra* has nowhere else to operate.

ननु च इदानीमेवास्यावकाशः प्रकृतः चयनं चायको लवनं लावक इति !

Is it not then that its operation is settled in the cases of *cayanam*, *cāyakah*, *lavanam*, and *lāvakah* etc. ?

अत्रापि नियमः प्राप्नोति

Even here '*alōntyasya*' begins to operate.

नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरभ्यते

This *sūtra* is read when '*alōntyasya*' invariably begins to operate.

यावता च नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरभ्यते, ततस्तस्य अपवादोऽयं योगो भवति । उत्सर्गापवादयोश्च अयुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः

If, then, this *sūtra* is read when *alōntyasya* begins to operate, this becomes its *apavāda* and there is no *vipratīṣṭha* between *utsarga* and *apavāda*.

अथापि कथंचिद् इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः स्यात्, एवमपि यथेह विप्रतिषेधादिको गुणो भवति मेघति मेघतः मेघन्ति इति, एवमिहापि स्यात् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इति

Even if, with difficulty, room is found for *ikō guṇavṛddhī* to operate, *guṇa* will occur by *vipratīṣṭha* in *anēnijuh*, *paryaveviṣuh* in the same way as it occurs in *mēdyati*, *mēdyatah*, *mēdyanti* etc.

VI

एवं तर्हि वृद्धिर्भवति गुणो भवति इति यत्र वृथात् इक इत्येतत्तत्रोपस्थितं
द्रष्टव्यम्

If so, whenever it is said that *vrddhi* occurs, and *guṇa* occurs, one should understand that the word *ikah* presents itself.

किं कृतं भवति ?

What happens then ?

द्वितीया षष्ठी प्रादुर्भाव्यते । तत्र कामचारः गृह्यमाणेन त्रैकं विशेषयितुम्
इका वा गृह्यमाणम् । यावता कामचारः, इह तावन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिद्वि-
क्षिप्रसुद्रेषु गृह्यमाणेनेकं विशेषयिष्यामः एतेषां य इक् इति; इहेदानीं जुसि-
सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योगुणेष्विका गृह्यमाणं विशेषयिष्यामः, एतेषां गुणो भवति
इकः इगन्तानाम् इति

Another word in the genitive case appears. It is our pleasure to take it as an adjunct to the already existing word in the genitive case or to take the latter qualifying *ikah*. Since it is our pleasure, we take the word in the genitive case to qualify *ikah* in the case of *midimrjipuganta-laghūpadharcchidrśikṣiprakṣudra*, and in the case of **jusi-sārcadhātukārdhādadhātukahrasvādī* we allow the word, to be qualified by *ikah*—*guṇa* replaces these which are *iganta*.

Having dealt with the six topics, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* tries in a way to meet the objections raised in the *tacchēṣupakṣa*.

अथवा सर्वत्रैवात्र स्थानी निर्दिश्यते । इह तावन्मिदेरित्यविभक्तिको
निर्देशः—मिद् एः मिदेरिति; अथवा षष्ठीसमासो भविष्यति—मिद् इः मिदिः
मिदेरिति । पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति, नैवं विज्ञायते पुगन्ताङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य चेति; कथं
तर्हि? पुकि अन्तः पुगन्तः, लघ्वी उपधा लघूपधा, पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च

पुगन्तलघूपधं पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् अङ्गविशेषणे सर्ताह
 प्रसज्येत भित्ति छिनत्ति इति । ऋच्छेरपि प्रसिद्धनिर्देशोऽयम् ऋच्छति ऋ ऋ
 ऋताम् ऋच्छत्युतामिति । दृशेरपि योगविभागः करिष्यते उराडि गुणः उः अडि
 गुणो भवति, ततो दृशेः, दृशेश्च अडि गुणो भवति, उरित्येव, क्षिप्रमुद्रयोरपि
 यणादिपरं गुणः इतीयता सिद्धम् । सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वग्रहणं करोति
 तन्वैतत्त्वयोजनम् इको यथा न्यादनिको मा नृदिति

Or in all these places *sthānin* is mentioned. First in the *sūtra*—*mīdēr guṇah* the word *mīdēh* is made up of two words *mīd* and *ēh* where *mīd* is in the genitive case without the case-suffix; or it is the genitive of *mīdīh* which is a *saṁhītatpuruṣa*. The *sūtra*—*pugantālaghūpadhasya* is not interpreted as *pugantālaghūsyā* and *laghūpadhasya*. How then? it is taken as the genitive of *pugantālaghūpadham* which is a *dvandva* compound made up of *pugantāh* and *laghūpadhā* which are respectively split as *puki antah* and *laghō upadhā*. This needs be said; for, otherwise *guṇa* will appear in the words *bhinatti* and *chinatti*. In the *sūtra*—*rechatyrtām* *r* is separately mentioned so that it may be split as *rechati*, *r*, *r*, *rtām*. As regards *drśōṇi guṇah*, it is split into two *sūtras*, *drāṇi guṇah* and *drśah*, so that *guṇa* replaces *r* when it is followed by *āṇ* and *guṇa* replaces *r* of *drś* when it is followed by *āṇ*. With respect to *kṣiprakṣudra*, since, though the desired object is won by reading the word *guṇah* after the word *yaṇādiparam* in the *sūtra*—*sthūla - dūra - yāna - hrāva - kṣipra - kṣudrāṇām yaṇādiparam pūrasya ca guṇah*, he needs the word *pūra*, it has this *prayōjana* that *guṇa* replaces *ik* and does not replace *anik*. Hence it must be noted that nothing has been said about *mrjīrvyaddhih* and the *sūtra*—*drśōṇi guṇah* is split in a different order. Hence this topic is intended only to serve as a supplementary discussion to try whether *tacchēṣapakṣa* can stand.

VII

अथ वृद्धिग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What is the need of the word *vrddhi* in the *sūtra* ?

किं विशेषेण वृद्धिग्रहणं चोद्यते न पुनर्गुणग्रहणमपि ! यदि किञ्चिद् गुणग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमस्ति वृद्धिग्रहणस्यापि तद्वितुमर्हति । को वा विशेषः ?

Why is the mention of the word *vrddhi* particularly objected and not that of *guṇa*. If there is any use in the mention of *guṇa*, the same holds good for *vrddhi*. What is the speciality here ?

अयमस्ति विशेषः—गुणविधौ न कचित् स्थानी निर्दिश्यते, तत्रावश्यं स्थानिर्निर्देशार्थं गुणग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ; वृद्धिविधौ पुनः सर्वत्रैव स्थानी निर्दिश्यते—अचो ङिति, अत उपधायाः, तद्धितेष्वचामादेः—इति

There is this speciality that nowhere is *sthānin* mentioned in *sūtras* where *guṇa* is enjoined and hence there is the need for the mention of the word *guṇa* to determine the *sthānin* and that, on the other hand, everywhere is *sthānin* mentioned in *sūtras* where *vrddhi* is enjoined viz. *acō ṅṇiti*, *ata upadhāyāḥ*, *taddhitēṣvacaṃ ādīḥ*.

अत उत्तरं पठति

Hence he gives the reply.

वृद्धिग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम्

The use of *vrddhi* is for what follows.

वृद्धिग्रहणम् कियते ; किमर्थम् ?

The word *vrddhi* is used. What for ?

उत्तरार्धम् *

For what follows.

किञ्चिन् प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यति स वृद्धेरपि यथा स्यात्

So that the prohibition which he is going to enjoin when the following *pratyaya* is *kit* or *ñit* may apply to *vrddhi* also.

कश्चेदानीं किञ्चित्प्रत्ययेषु वृद्धेः प्रसङ्गः, यावता विणितीत्युच्यते?

Where is the possibility for *vrddhi* to appear when the *kit* and *ñit* *pratyayas* follow, since it appears only when the *ñit* and *ñit* *pratyayas* follow?

† तच्च मृज्यर्थम्

That too is for the sake of *mṛj*.

मृजेवृद्धिरविशेषणोच्यते सा किञ्चित् सा भूत मृष्टः मृष्टवान् इति

Vrddhi that is generally enjoined to *mṛj* may not take place when it is followed by *kit* *pratyaya* and *ñit* *pratyaya* as in the case of the words *mṛṣṭah* and *mṛṣṭavān*.

‡ इदार्थं चापि For here also.

इदार्थं चापि मृज्यर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । मृजेवृद्धिरविशेषणोच्यते, सा इको यथा स्यात् अनिको § मा भूत इति

The word *vrddhi* should be read for the sake of this *sūtra* also to enable the formation of words from *mṛj*, so that the *vrddhi* that is enjoined to *mṛj* as a whole without specifying the part to be replaced by it, may replace *ik* and not an *anik*.

* Here *uttara* refers to the *sūtra* 'kñiti ca'

† *Tat* refers to the previous *vārtika*.

‡ *aha* refers to the *sūtra* 'ikō guṇavṛddhi'

§ *anik* refers to the final consonant since *alōṭyaṣya* may operate.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेद्योगविभागात्सिद्धम्

If it is for the sake of *mrj*, the end is achieved by *yōgavibhāga*.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेत् योगविभागः करिष्यते — मृजेवृद्धिरचः, ततः ङिति ;
ङिति ङिति च वृद्धिर्भवति, अच इत्येव

If it is for the sake of *mrj*, the *sūtras* (*mrjēr vṛddhiḥ* and *acō ṅīti*) are split in a different way—*mrjēr vṛddhiraculy* and then *ṅīti*. *Vṛddhi* appears when the following *pratyaya* is *ṅit* or *ṇit* and it replaces only an *ac*.

यद्यचो वृद्धिरुच्यते, न्यमार्द् अटोऽपि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति

If *vṛddhi* is said to replace *ac*, it may replace *at* also in *nyamārt*.

अटि चोक्तम् *

It has been said in the case of *at*.

किमुक्तम् ?

What has been said ?

अनन्त्यविकारे अन्त्यसंदेशस्य कार्यं भवति इति

If substitution comes to a non-final element, it will come to that which is nearer the final.

वृद्धिप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिस्त्विच्छप्रकरणात् (तस्मादिग्लश्रणा वृद्धिः)

In that case *vṛddhi-pratiṣēdha* won't fit in and hence *vṛddhi* should be enjoined with the term *ik*.

* I am not certain that this is a *vārtika* though it is found to be so in some editions.

इदं नु प्रतिषेधो नोपपद्यते

The prohibition of *vrddhi* (in *mrjā* etc.) won't apply.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

इक्ष्यकरणात् ; इन्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्धयोः प्रतिषेधः

(It is so) since the prohibition is only for that enjoined to इक्ष् ; the prohibition is only to such *guṇa* and *vrddhi* as could replace an *ik*.

न चैवं सति मृजेरिन्लक्षणा वृद्धिर्भवति

If so, *vrddhi* will not replace *ik* in *mrj*.

तस्मान्मृजेरिन्लक्षणा वृद्धिरेपितव्या

Hence we should try to get in *mrj*, the *vrddhi* enjoined with the term *ik*.

एवं तर्हि, इहान्ये वैयाकरणा मृजेरजादौ सङ्क्रमे * विभाषा वृद्धिमारभन्ते, परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिमृजन्तु परिमार्जन्तु परिममृजन्तुः परिममार्जन्तुः इत्याद्यर्थम् ; तदिहामि साध्यम्, तस्मिन् साध्ये योगविभागः करिष्यते मृजेर्वृद्धिरचः भवति ; ततः अचि किञ्चि, अजादौ च किञ्चि मृजेर्वृद्धिर्भवति, परिमार्जन्ति परिमार्जन्तु परिममार्जन्तुः । किमर्थमिदम् ? नियमार्थम्, अजादावेव किञ्चि नान्यत्र । कान्यत्र मा भूतः मृष्टः बृहवान् इति । ततो वा, वा अचि किञ्चि मृजेर्वृद्धिर्भवति परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिममृजन्तुः परिममार्जन्तुः इति

If so, other grammarians wish *vrddhi* optionally for *mrj* when it is followed by *kit* and *nīt* viz. *parimrjanti*, *parimārjanti*, *parimrjantu*, *parimārjantu*, *parimamrjatuh*, *parimamārjatuh*. The same is wanted here also and hence the *sūtra*—*aphl* is done in this way—'*mrjērvrddhiracah*' and then '*an*

* *Saṅkrama* is the *samjñā* of old grammarians denoting *kit* and *nīt*.

kuṭṭi', which means that *mrj* takes *vrddhi* when it is followed by a *kit* or *ñit* beginning with a vowel. viz. *parimārjanti*, *parimārjantu*, *parimamārjatuḥ*. What is this for? For the sake of *niyama*, so that it takes place only in those places where *kit* or *ñit* begins with a vowel and not in other places. What are those places where it should not be? They are *mrṣṭaḥ*, *mrṣṭavā*. Then the *sūtra* 'eā' is read, which means that *mrj* takes *vrddhi* optionally when it is followed by a *kit* or *ñit* beginning with a vowel, viz. *parimārjanti*, *parimārjanti* : *parimamārjatuḥ*, *parimamārjatuḥ*.

इहार्थमेव तर्हि सिजर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यते
सेको यथा स्यात् अनिको मा भूत् इति

If so *vrddhi* should be mentioned for the sake of this *sūtra* on behalf of *sic* so that the *vrddhi* that is enjoined before *sic* may replace an *ik* and not an *anik*.

कस्य पुनरनिकः प्राप्नोति?

For which *anik* is there the possibility to be replaced by *vrddhi*?

अकारस्य, अचिकीर्षीत् अचिहीर्षीत्

For *ākāra*; viz. *avikīrṣīt*, *ajhīrṣīt*. *

नैतदस्ति, लोपोऽत्र बाधको भवति

No, the *lōpa* (enjoined by *utō lōpah*) prevents its operation.

आकारस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अयासीत् अवासीत्

If so, there is that possibility for *ākāra* viz. *ayāsīt*, *avāsīt*.

* In *avikīrṣa*—it, *a* is dropped by *utō lōpah*.

साम्यत्र विशेषः, सत्यां वृद्धावसत्यां वा

Here is no difference whether there is *viddhi* or not.

सन्ध्यक्षरस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति

If so, there is that possibility for diphthongs.

नैव सन्ध्यक्षरमन्त्यमस्ति

There is no diphthong which is final.

ननु चेदमस्ति ढलोपे कृते उदवोढम्, उदवोढाम्, उदवोढ इति !

Oh, here it is when ढ is elided viz. *udavōḍham*, *udavōḍhām* *udavōḍho* ! -

नैतदस्ति, असिद्धो ढलोपः, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् नैतदन्यं भवति

No, it is not; *ḍhalōpa* is taken to be non-existing; since it is *asiddha*, diphthong is not the final letter.

व्यञ्जनस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अस्मैत्सीत्, अच्यैत्सीत्

If so, there is that possibility for consonants—*abhāitsīt*, *acchāitsīt*.

इलन्तलक्षणा * वृद्धिर्वाचिका भविष्यति

Viddhi that is enjoined to the vowel of the *angas* that end in consonants prevents its operation.

यत्र तर्हि सा प्रतिषिध्यते, नेटि इति अकोर्षीत् अमोर्षीत्

(What do you say) where it is prohibited by the *sūtra*—*neti* viz. *akōṣīt*, *amōṣīt* ?

* This means that which is enjoined to the vowel of the *anga* that ends in a consonant by the *sūtra*—*vidhauvajahalanantaryāteḥ*.

सिचि वृद्धेऽप्येष प्रतिषेधः

This is the prohibitive rule also for the *sūtra* *sici vṛddhiḥ* .

कथम्? How?

लक्षणां हि नाम ध्वनति, अमति, मुहूर्तमपि नावतिष्ठते

For *niṣēdha* suggests vaguely, wanders everywhere and does not stand still even for a moment.

अथवा सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु इति सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति, तस्या हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिर्वाचिका, तस्या अपि नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Or *vṛddhi* before *sic* is enjoined by the *sūtra*—*sici vṛddhiḥ pārasmāipulēsū* ; it has its *apavāda* in the *sūtra*—*vaḍaṣṣaraja-halantasyañāḥ* and it has its *apavāda* in *nēṭi*.

अन्ति पुनः कचिदन्यत्रापि अपवादे प्रतिषिद्धे उत्तर्गोऽपि न भवति!

Is there another place where the general rule does not operate when there is an exception to the exception?

अस्तीत्याह; सुजाते अश्वमूत्रे, अज्वर्यो अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते अन्यत् इति; पुरुरूपे प्रतिषिद्धे अयादयोऽपि न भवन्ति

Yes, says, he: *sic, sujātē aśvasūnrlē, adhvaryā-adribhiḥ sutam, śukram tē anyat*; here though *pārasmāipulēsū* is prohibited, the *ādiḥ* *ay* etc. have not replaced *ē* etc.

उत्तरार्थमेव तर्हि सिचि वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषणोच्यते, सा विजति सा भूत, न्यनुवीत न्यधुवीत

If so, let the use of the word *vṛddhi* be intended for the the next *sūtra* to prohibit *vṛddhi* enjoined by *sici vṛddhiḥ* : *vṛddhi* before *sic* is enjoined in general and let it not operate when it is followed by *kil* or *nēṭi* *sic, nyanuvit, nyadhuvit*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, अन्तरङ्गत्वादेव उवञ्जदेशे कृते चानन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न भविष्यति

No, this is not the purpose to be served; for, after *uvanādeśa* which first operates by *antarāṅgaparibhāṣā*, there is no occasion for *vrddhi* since the vowel is not the final element of the *aṅga*.

यदि तर्हि सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवति, अक्षरार्णव् अहार्णव्, गुणे कृते रपरत्वे चानन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति

If, then, *antarāṅgaparibhāṣā* prevails in *sicivṛddhi*, the words *akārsīt*, *ahārsīt* cannot be formed since the final element of the *aṅga* is not a vowel after the operation of the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *raparatva*.

मा मृदेवम्; हलन्तस्य . . . इत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be in that manner; the *sūtra*—*halantasya* . . . operates (and the desired form is obtained).

इह तर्हि न्यस्तारीत् न्यदारीत्, गुणे कृते रपरत्वे चानन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति । हलन्तलक्षणायाश्च नैटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Then in the words *nyastārīt*, *nyadārīt*, *vrddhi* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining the *guṇa* and *raparatva* operate since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra* '*vadurajahalantasya* . . . ' cannot operate since it is prohibited by the *sūtra* '*nāṭi*'.

मा मृदेवम्, लृन्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will happen by the *sūtra*—*alō lṛāntasya*.

इह तर्हि अलावीत् अपावीत्, गुणे कृतेऽवादेशे चानन्त्यत्वात् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति । हलन्तलक्षणायाश्च नैटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Then in the words *ahāvīt, apāvīt, vṛddhī* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *avādīṣa* operate, since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra*—*vadaerajuhalantasyācaḥ* is prohibited from operating by the *sūtra*—*nīti*.

मा नृदेवम्, लान्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will happen by the *sūtra*—*atē lāntasya*.

लान्तस्य इत्युच्यते, न चेदं लान्तम्

It is said when the final is / or r, and this is not having / or r as its final.

लान्तस्य इत्यत्र वकारोऽपि निर्दिश्यते

V also is mentioned in *lānta*.

किं वकारो न श्रूयते!

Why is not v heard?

लुप्तनिर्दिष्टो वकारः

Vakāra has been dropped.

यद्येवं मा भवानर्वात् मा भवान् मर्वात्, अत्रापि शाम्भोति

If so, *vṛddhī* might come in *mā bhavān arit* and *mā bhavān marit*.

अविमल्योर्नेति वक्ष्यामि

I shall say that it does not come in the case of *arī* and *marī*.

तद्वक्तव्यम्

It should be said.

न वक्तव्यम्, निश्चिन्त्यां तौ निमातव्यौ

No, it need not be said ; they should be exchanged by *ni* and *śvi*.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथैतर्हि निश्च्योः प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यो भवति, गुणे कृतेऽप्यदेशे च यान्तानां नेत्येव प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति

Though this is said so, there is no need for the mention of *ni* and *śvi* in the *sūtra* '*hmyantakṣaṇaścausajāgratīśogīdītām*'; for, after they take *guṇa* and *ayūdēśa*, they are prohibited from taking *vrddhi* since they end in *y*.

एवं तर्ह्यचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवति इति, यदयं अतो हलादेल्लघोः इत्यकारग्रहणं करोति

The *vyavahāra* of *Ācārya* suggests that the *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* does not operate in the application of the *sūtra* '*sici vrddhiḥ parasmāi padēṣu*'.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted to make it a *jñāpako* ?

अकारग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, इह मा मृतु अकोपीत अमोपीत; यदि सिच्यन्तरङ्गं स्यात् अकारग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृतेऽल्लघुत्वाद्विर्तं भविष्यति, पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवतीति, ततोऽकारग्रहणं करोति

The mention of *akāra* has this use that it may not happen in *akōṣīt*, *amōṣīt*; if *antaraṅgaśāstra* prevails in *sici vrddhiḥ*, the use of *akāra* will be of no use since there is no short penultimate after *guṇa* comes. Hence seeing that *antaraṅgaśāstra* does not prevail there, he uses *akāra*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

No, this is not a *jñāpako*, for there is a purpose in having said it.

किम्? What?

यत्र गुणः प्रतिषिद्धयते तदर्थमेतत्स्यात् न्यकुटीत् न्यपुटीत् इति

Where *guna* is prohibited, it is used there to prohibit *vrddhi* viz. *nyakufit*, *nyupufit*.

यत्तर्हि णिङ्योः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तेन नेहान्तरङ्गमस्ति इति दर्शयति

Then since prohibition is enjoined for *ṇi* and *ṣvi*, *Ācārya* suggests that *antarāṅgaparibhāṣā* does not prevail here.

यच्च करोत्यकारग्रहणं लघोरिति कृतेऽपि

And since *akāra* is read even though there is the word *laghōh*.

तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः

Therefore *vrddhi* should be enjoined to *ik*.

VIII

* पठ्याः स्थानेयोगत्वादिङ्निवृत्तिः

Genitive being supplemented by *sthānē*, all *iks* will disappear.

पठ्याः स्थानेयोगत्वात् सर्वेषामिकां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति । अस्यापि प्राप्नोति दधि मधु

Since the genitive (whose meaning is not defined) is supplemented by the word *sthānē*, all *iks* will disappear. The *ik* of *dadhi* and *madhu* will also disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात्?

What for, then, is the repetition? †

* The *pāreṇpakṣa* says that this is a *vidhāyakoṣāra* and the *siddhānta* is that it is a *paribhāṣā*.

† As in *mīḍer guṇah*.

अन्यतरार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

The repetition is to choose one of the two.

अन्यतरार्थमेतत्स्यात्, — सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुण एव इति

This is to choose either of the two viz. *guṇa* alone in the operation of the *sūtra*—*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*.

* प्रसारणे च

In the case of the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa*.

प्रसारणे च सर्वेषां यणां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति याता वाता

When the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa* operates, all *yans* will disappear. The *y* and *v* in *yātā* and *vātā* also will disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् ?

What for is, then, the repetition ?

विषयार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

Repetition is to decide the circumstances.

विषयार्थमेतत्स्यात् वचिस्वपियजादीनां कित्येवेति *

This is to decide the circumstances viz. *samprasāraṇa* takes place to *vac*, *svap*, *yaj* etc. only when they are followed by *kit*.

उरण रूपे च

In the *sūtra* '*uran raparah*' also.

* This takes place when *yajah* in *ig yajah samprasāraṇam* is taken to be a *athānasajhā*, which is always the case.

उरणरपरे च सर्वेषामृकाराणां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति—
कर्तृ हर्तृ

In the application of the *sūtra*, all *rkāras* will disappear ; it will disappear in the words *karṭṛ*, *harṭṛ* also.

सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात्

The end is achieved by reading it after *ṣaṣṭhī sthānīyogā*.

सिद्धमेतत् ; कथम् ?

This is achieved. How ?

षष्ठ्यधिकारे इमे योगाः कर्तव्याः । एकस्तावत् क्रियते तत्रैव, इमावपि
योगौ षष्ठ्यधिकारमनुवर्तिष्येते

These *sūtras* have to be read after *ṣaṣṭhī sthānīyogā*. One—
Uraṇ-roparaḥ is read there and the other two are taken there.

अथवा षष्ठ्यधिकारे इमौ अपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or we require them in *ṣaṣṭhyadhikāra*.

अथवेदं तावदयं षष्ठ्यः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति इति इह
कलान्न भवति याता वाता ?

Or he should first be put this question why *guṇa* does
not take place in *yālā* and *vālā* by the *sūtra* '*sāradhātukārdha-*
dhātukayōḥ'.

इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते इको गुणवृद्धी इति

This *sūtra* '*ikō guṇavṛddhī*' is read along with it.

यथैव तर्हि इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते एवमिहापि तदपेक्षिष्यामहे सार्वधातु-
कार्धधातुकयोः इति

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

As it is read with it there, so also it is read with *sārvadhātukārūhadhātukayōḥ* in interpreting its meaning.

Hence it must be noted that प्रसारणे च and उरुपरपरे च have been mentioned as parallel cases. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* first mentioned the difficulties met with, if this *sūtra* is taken a *vidhisūtra* and finally suggested three ways to avert the difficulties, of which the last is the best, where he takes the *sūtra* only as a *paribhāṣā*.

इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिरचिते व्याकरणमहाभाष्ये प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे
वृद्ध्यादिकं नाम तृतीयमादिकम्

Vṛdhyāhnika ends.

CORRIGENDA.

Page.	Line.	For	Read.
1	15	Omit 'a'	
2	1	Omit 'of'	
5	1	Omit 'was'	
9	1	Omit 'the' before marriage.	
14	19	Rgvêda	Rgvêda
16	17	} species	} individuality
17	1, 2		
48	23, 28		
22	27	पेहिक	पेहिक
35	5	निरुक्ताद्य—	निरुक्ताद्यु—
38	26	स्मात्मानं	स्वमात्मानं
41	13	} प्रतिष्ठिततमं	} प्रतिष्ठिततमं
	27		
		A	The
55	10	} individuality	} individuality
	14		
	17		
		अथवता—	अर्थवता—
58	4	} Add 'to us' before that	
	23		
		धर्मानियमः	धर्मनियमः
70	13	for	to
72	23	the the	the
78	12	भवत	भवति
89	15	अतिखटुः	अतिखटुः
95	9	अइउण	अइउण
106	20	women	woman
116	12	पञ्चाङ्	पञ्चोङ्
118	2	samjñā	sumjñā
122	7	योगविभाग	योगविभागः
129	21	than	than

Page.	Line	For.	Read.
140	26	खनयति	खर्नयति
143	8	उपदेश	उपदेशः
145	20	अथवा	अथवा
153	13	एकत्वमर्थ	एकत्वमर्थः
154	18	on	or
160	6	इत	इति
	27	सुष्टुपदेशः	सुष्टुपदेशः
168	23	जिहीर्षति	जिहीर्षति
170	23	इण	इण्
173	2	प्राप्नोतिः	प्राप्नोति
174	13	<i>Aspādhyāyī</i>	<i>Aspādhyāyī</i>
	10	यत्र	यत्र
176	14	पदस्यति	पदस्येति
177	18	<i>saṁjñās</i>	<i>saṁjñās</i>
187	22	comprehended	comprehended
191	12	have	as have
	25	आकारस्य	अकारस्य
192	4	For	for
216	4	occur	occur

INDEX OF WORDS IN THE THREE ĀHNIKAS
OF THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA.

N. B.:—Numbers refer to pages.

अ.

- अ 89, 149.
अङ्ग 87, 157.
अङ्ग 195.
अक्रियमाणे 181.
अक्षणाम् 200.
अक्षरम् 173, 174.
अक्षरशः 33.
अक्षरसमाज्ञायः 175.
अक्षरसमाज्ञायिकस्य 90.
अक्षरसमाज्ञायिकैः 135.
अक्षरसमाज्ञाये 95, 187.
अक्षराणि 116.
अक्षराक्षयः 126.
अक्षरेषु 117.
अक्षु 157-159.
अकः 91, 122, 126.
अकर्तुम् 146.
अकारः 87, 89, 95, 98, 101, 102,
123, 207.
अकारम् 97.
अकारग्रहणम् 232, 233.
अकारग्रहणस्य 232.
अकारयोः 128, 204.
अकारलोपः 127.
अकारस्य 87, 89, 95, 99, 100,
102, 128, 204, 227.
अकाराणाम् 205.
अकारान्तात् 142.
अकार्षीत् 230.
अकृत्यविषये 145.
अकृतप्रयत्नाः 68.
अकृतः 192, 193.
अकृते 163.
अकृत्यत 39.
अकोपीत् 228, 232.
अग्नयः 215.
अग्नये 215.
अग्निः 24, 42, 61.
अग्निम् 11, 69.
अग्निचित् 213.
अग्निचितः 215.
अग्निचिते 215.
अग्निष्टोमेन 69.
अग्नी 112.
अग्ने 126, 215.
अग्नौ 61, 130, 131.
अग्रम् 100.
अग्रहणम् 94.
अग्रहणानि 86, 92.
अगम्या 60.
अगम्यायाम् 60.
अगमकम् 185.
अगमत् 106.
अगोष्ठाय 192.
अग्नन् 154.
अहम् 213, 214.

अहस्य 213, 214.
 अहविशेषणे 222.
 अह्वारसवर्णे 36.
 अह्विरत्ताम् 64.
 अडि 213, 222.
 अघ 105, 106, 111, 117, 159.
 अघकार्यम् 159.
 अघकार्याणि 157, 159.
 अघिष्ठम् 16.
 अघिष्ठन्तीत् 228.
 अघः 117, 148, 156, 162, 164,
 166, 223, 225, 226.
 अघाम् 159, 223.
 अघि 117, 157, 162, 226.
 अघिकीर्णीत् 227.
 अघग्रहणेत् 167.
 अघग्रहणेषु 137.
 अघर्गः 168.
 अघाजिनम् 181.
 अघादी 226.
 अघानम् 30.
 अघाथयः 117.
 अघिहीर्णीत् 227.
 अघुहनुः 215.
 अघपरे 172.
 अघानम् 30.
 अघ 134.
 अघसु 144.
 अघः 225.
 अघि 225.
 अघग्रहणेषु 138.
 अघव्यवाये 134, 144, 148.
 अघ 95, 97, 103, 137, 169, 171.
 अघग्रहणम् 103, 164, 165, 166,
 171.
 अघग्रहणे 165, 166, 169.

अघग्रहणेषु 163.
 अघः 94, 164, 167.
 अघ 177.
 अघन्तम् 163.
 अघन्तमिदः 52.
 अघन्ताय 30.
 अघ 10, 46, 52, 59, 67, 88,
 89, 92, 94, 101, 114, 117,
 124, 126, 128, 130-132,
 137, 138, 140, 150, 151,
 154, 159, 162, 163, 167,
 168, 185, 188, 200-202,
 212, 215, 218-221, 227,
 230, 231.
 अघा 39.
 अघः 30, 44, 54, 61, 82, 105,
 122, 127, 139, 154-156,
 178, 186, 223, 232.
 अघदर्थगतिः 151.
 अघदर्थगतेः 150, 151.
 अघपरः 118.
 अघपराणि 116, 118.
 अघिष्ठः 89.
 अघिष्ठः 112.
 अघिप्रसक्तम् 103.
 अघिमहति 65.
 अघिमाद्यः 89.
 अघ 6, 16, 24, 29, 30, 46, 49,
 51, 55, 61, 72, 79, 80, 105,
 125, 128, 160, 164, 165,
 166, 173, 174, 178, 181,
 185, 193, 197, 201, 202,
 212, 217, 218, 220, 223.
 अघवा 16, 52, 53, 55, 57-59,
 67, 70, 71, 76, 77, 83, 85,
 97, 114, 122, 132, 133, 136,

142, 145-147, 151, 159,	अधीत्य 43.
174, 180, 184, 190, 192,	अधीतम् 25.
209, 210, 211, 221, 229,	अधीताः 69.
232, 235.	अधीते 109, 111, 149.
अद्यत्वे 43, 46, 64.	अधीयते 43, 119.
अदिभिः 119, 229.	अधीयमानः 76.
अद्ः 72, 78.	अधीयानानाम् 155.
अदाग्धाम् 139.	अधीयीत 109.
अदेह 124, 191, 209, 210.	अधुक्षत् 139.
अदेहग्रहणम् 209.	अन्यम् 213, 214, 227, 238.
अदेहाम् 209.	अन्यविधिः 148.
अदोषः 75.	अन्यस्य 148, 212, 214.
अध्ययनकालः 46.	अन्यसदेशस्य 225.
अध्यवस्यति 24, 61.	अन्तम् 46.
अध्यासीत 109.	अन्तः 42, 221.
अध्येता 46.	अन्ततः 194.
अध्येतारः 34, 191.	अन्तोदात्तत्वम् 99.
अध्येति 148.	अन्तयोः 97.
अध्येतृभ्यः 43.	अन्तरङ्गम् 135, 230, 232, 233.
अध्येयम् 31-26, 28, 32, 33, 37,	अन्तरङ्गत्वात् 230.
41, 42, 43.	अन्तरङ्गे 135.
अध्येयः 22.	अन्तरतमः 94.
अध्ययौ 119, 229.	अन्तरेण 23, 32, 61, 197, 208.
अध्ययुशाखाः 65.	अन्तरन्तस्थम् 41.
अधर्मः 29, 67, 70, 71.	अन्तस्थानाम् 160.
अधर्मम् 70.	अन्तोदात्तात् 200.
अधरोन्कम् 181.	अन्धः 152.
अधिकरणयोः 75.	अन्यः 62, 110, 112.
अधिकरणस्थः 102.	अन्यत् 43, 72, 83, 89, 91, 119,
अधिकरणस्थम् 102.	127, 128, 194, 198, 199,
अधिकाराः 209.	217, 229, 232.
अधिकारार्थः 6.	अन्यत्र 71, 90, 140, 170, 196,
अधिकृतम् 6.	201, 226, 229.
अधिगतयाथातय्याः 71.	अन्यत्वम् 199.
अधिजिगांसमतेभ्यः 43.	अन्यतरत् 189.
अधिथित्व 61.	अन्यतरार्थम् 234.

अन्यतरोपदेशेन 44.
 अन्यथा 108.
 अन्यवचनात् 210.
 अन्यस्मात् 131.
 अन्यस्मिन् 104, 120.
 अन्यस्य 132.
 अन्यस्याः 210.
 अन्या 56.
 अन्यान् 63.
 अन्याभ्याम् 131.
 अन्ये 44, 82, 155, 183, 226.
 अन्येषाम् 105.
 अन्येषु 76.
 अन्यैः 135.
 अन्वाख्यायते 44, 88, 89.
 अन्वाख्यायत 90.
 अन्वाचष्टे 43.
 अन्वाह 98.
 अन्वितः 107, 108.
 अन्वितस्य 108.
 अन्तः 114, 115.
 अन्तकारान्तप्रतिषेधार्थम् 115.
 अन्तर्गो 28.
 अन्तः 200.
 अन्वि 117, 148.
 अन्तर्हलीम् 24.
 अन्तर्त्वात् 94.
 अन्तर्धकः 155, 156.
 अन्तर्धकम् 43, 97, 128, 162-166,
 168, 169, 181, 204, 205, 232.
 अन्तर्धकत्वम् 156.
 अन्तर्धकाः 152-155.
 अन्तर्धगतेः 150, 151, 155.
 अन्तर्धकानि 181.
 अन्तर्धकेन 186.
 अन्तर्धकैः 155.

अन्तर्धत्वात् 168, 230.
 अन्तर्धप्रतिषेधः 215.
 अन्तर्धविकारे 225.
 अन्तर्धस्य 212, 216, 217.
 अन्तर्धत्वात् 113, 213, 230.
 अन्तर्धत्वात् 103.
 अन्तर्धार्थम् 129, 206.
 अन्तर्धवत् 113.
 अन्तर्धम् 29, 30.
 अन्या 217.
 अनन्तर्यान् 123.
 अनन्तराः 147.
 अनपात्यः 57, 161.
 अनभ्युपायः 46, 47.
 अनयोः 187.
 अनरिप्रतिष्ठितम् 41.
 अनस्त्रिधौ 148.
 अनवकाशः 219.
 अनाकृतिः 184, 185, 190.
 अनाकृतिताम् 190.
 अनिकः 222, 224, 227.
 अनिगन्तम् 214.
 अनिगन्तस्य 213, 214.
 अनिटः 139.
 अनित्यम् 55, 58.
 अनित्यत्वम् 101.
 अनित्या 55, 56.
 अनियतः 216, 217.
 अनियमः 71.
 अनु 42.
 अनुकरणम् 106, 108-110, 112.
 अनुकरणार्थः 105, 106.
 अनुकुर्वन् 109, 110.
 अनुकृत्यते 115.
 अनुच्यमानम् 208.
 अनुच्छिद्य 61.

अनुत्पत्तिः 57.
 अनुदात्तः 81, 198.
 अनुदात्तस्य 198.
 अनुदात्तादेः 200.
 अनुनासिकः 81, 140, 142, 165.
 166, 207.
 अनुनासिकम् 93.
 अनुनासिकस्य 140, 142.
 अनुनासिके 140.
 अनुप्रदात्तः 43.
 अनुपदिश्य 80.
 अनुपदिष्टम् 137.
 अनुपदिष्टाः 112, 143.
 अनुपपत्तिः 95, 98.
 अनुपपन्नः 72, 77.
 अनुपसर्गो 95, 128, 204.
 अनुपिवति 109.
 अनुबध्यते 163, 171.
 अनुबध्येते 171.
 अनुबन्धः 80, 95, 97, 128.
 अनुबन्धम् 129, 204, 206.
 अनुबन्धाः 80, 157.
 अनुबन्धार्यम् 61.
 अनुबन्धानाम् 80, 157, 185.
 अनुबन्धुम् 61.
 अनुबन्धेषु 185.
 अनुबन्धैः 83, 97.
 अनुबल्य 192.
 अनुवर्तते 122, 162, 163, 209.
 अनुवर्तन्ते 210.
 अनुवर्तनान् 210.
 अनुवर्तमाने 94, 129.
 अनुवृत्तिः 94.
 अनुवर्तिष्यते 115, 209.
 अनुवर्तिष्येते 235.
 अनुविदधते 62, 64.

अनुविधेयाः 64.
 अनुवृत्तिः 210.
 अनुवृत्तौ 94, 95.
 अनुस्वारः 93, 143, 146.
 अनुस्वारविशेषणम् 146.
 अनुस्वारस्य 140, 160.
 अनुस्वारे 146.
 अनुहन्ति 109.
 अनृतः 115.
 अनेकः 99, 102.
 अनेकम् 83.
 अनेकविधम् 94.
 अनेकान् 95, 98.
 अनेकाच्चम् 98, 99.
 अनेन 53, 54, 58, 60, 74, 84.
 122, 185, 186, 195.
 अनेनितुः 215, 240.
 अप् 52, 124, 202.
 अपवादौ 48.
 अपगृह्यस्य 165, 166.
 अपत्ययः 169.
 अपत्ययस्य 147.
 अप्रतिपत्तिः 73, 78.
 अप्रतिपिद्धम् 70, 109.
 अप्रतिपिद्धस्य 109.
 अप्रतिपिद्धेषु 108.
 अप्रधानत्वात् 158.
 अप्रमत्तगीतः 31.
 अप्रयुक्तः 63.
 अप्रयुक्ताः 61, 62, 63, 64, 66.
 अप्रयुक्ते 64.
 अप्रयोगः 63.
 अप्रवीणाः 68.
 अप्रसङ्गः 196.
 अप्रसिद्धिः 193.
 अप्राप्ते 220.

अप्युते 139.
 अप्सु 71.
 अप 52.
 अपकाम 149.
 अपनुदोः 129.
 अपश्रेशाः 29, 46, 67.
 अपभाषन्ते 71.
 अपभाषितम् 71.
 अपभाषितवै 25.
 अपरः 35, 69, 107, 159.
 अपरहाः 71.
 अपरया 56.
 अपरे 155, 183.
 अपराघात् 26.
 अपरितुष्यन् 185.
 अपरिभाष्यम् 103.
 अपरिहार्यः 107, 111.
 अपरिहृतम् 156.
 अपवादः 46, 210, 212, 220.
 अपवादस्य 218, 220.
 अपवादे 229.
 अपशब्दः 25, 67, 70, 71, 110, 112.
 अपशब्दज्ञाने 29.
 अपशब्दभाक् 110.
 अपशब्दम् 41, 110.
 अपशब्दाः 29, 44, 112.
 अपशब्दान् 29, 67, 70.
 अपशब्देन 61.
 अपशब्दैः 29, 30.
 अपशब्दोपदेशः 44-46.
 अपाणिनीयम् 84, 185.
 अपायः 153, 154.
 अपाधीत् 330.
 अपास्याः 108.
 अपि 11, 22, 29, 30, 37, 43-44,

46, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 60-64, 66-71, 75-78, 80, 81, 83, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 95, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 107-111, 113, 114, 116, 118, 122, 124-126, 128, 130-135, 137-140, 145, 146, 148, 152, 156, 158-166, 168, 169, 171-173, 177, 179, 180, 182-187, 189, 190, 192-194, 196, 197, 199, 201, 202, 204-209, 214-220, 222-226, 229, 231-235.

अपेक्षिष्यते 235.
 अपेक्षिष्यामहे 211, 235.
 अपेहि 149.
 अपिमयुः 215.
 अभ्यन्तरः 63, 126.
 अभ्यवहारार्थम् 60.
 अभ्यन्तम् 196.
 अभ्याज 181.
 अभ्याधीत 130.
 अभ्याधीयते 130.
 अभ्युद्गः 145.
 अभ्युद्गतः 145.
 अभ्युदयः 69.
 अभ्युदयकारि 61.
 अभ्युदयाय 70, 109.
 अभ्युदयेन 68, 69, 71, 109.
 अभ्युपायः 70.
 अभ्युपायेन 92.
 अभक्ष्यः 44, 59.
 अभक्ष्यम् 60.
 अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधेन 44.
 अभक्ष्याः 44.
 अभिज्वलितः 102.

अभिधेयः 61.
 अभिज्ञम् 16.
 अभिमताः 66.
 अभिमन्त्रयते 61.
 अभिवदन्ति 69.
 अभिवादे 32.
 अभिष्टये 11.
 अभिसम्बन्धः 55, 187, 192.
 अभेदः 161.
 अभेदम् 45.
 अभेदकाः 199, 200.
 अभैत्सीत् 228.
 अभ्यरे 172.
 अभ्युक्तः 82.
 अभ्यासोः 201.
 अभि 127.
 अभी 61.
 अभोषीत् 228, 232.
 अभ्यम् 6, 16, 30, 32, 54, 75-
 77, 85, 88, 89, 91, 95, 97,
 98, 100, 101, 105, 107,
 110-112, 119, 122, 124,
 127, 128, 130, 135, 138,
 140, 144, 162-171, 173,
 175, 180, 190, 192, 196,
 199, 200, 202, 204, 205,
 207, 212, 214, 217-220,
 222, 223, 232, 235.
 अभ्यस्यदीनि 177.
 अभ्यादयः 206, 229.
 अभ्यादेशे 232.
 अभ्यासीत् 227.
 अभ्युक्तः 218-220.
 अभ्युक्तम् 184, 185.
 अभ्युक्ताः 143.
 अभ्यागवाहाः 143.

अभ्यागवाहानाम् 144.
 अर्कः 100.
 अर्तिः 107.
 अर्थः 54, 55, 58, 60, 61, 75,
 79-81, 86, 87, 90-92, 100,
 105, 110-112, 115, 150,
 151, 159, 197, 204, 205.
 अर्थम् 23, 58, 80, 97, 98, 115,
 129, 135, 160, 174, 195,
 197, 203, 223, 226, 233,
 234.
 अर्थदर्शनात् 149, 153, 154.
 अर्थप्रयुक्ते 58.
 अर्थरूपम् 16.
 अर्थव्यत्ययः 154.
 अर्थवत् 152.
 अर्थवत्ताम् 156.
 अर्थवत्तायाम् 155.
 अर्थवताम् 55.
 अर्थवत्वात् 151, 152, 155.
 अर्थवद्भिः 155.
 अर्थवन्तः 149, 150, 152, 154,
 155.
 अर्थवन्ति 149, 181.
 अर्थवान् 155.
 अर्थविकारः 154.
 अर्थस्य 150.
 अर्थसम्बन्धे 55.
 अर्थाः 63, 83, 89, 153.
 अर्थात् 70.
 अर्थान्तरगमनम् 155.
 अर्थान्तरगमनात् 155.
 अर्थान्तरेषु 155, 156.
 अर्थानुपलब्धेः 153.
 अर्थापायः 154.
 अर्थावगतौ 61.

अर्थिनः 196.
 अर्थे 51, 55, 56, 58, 63, 108,
 214.
 अर्थेषु 63.
 अर्थोपपन्नः 154.
 अर्थः 118, 120.
 अर्थम् 37, 119.
 अर्थकः 82.
 अर्थचतस्रः 170.
 अर्थमात्रिकस्य 207.
 अर्हति 30, 105, 190, 223.
 अरुचतः 115.
 अरुणीयान् 105.
 अरुणीवासः 29, 67.
 अरुणेन 47.
 अरुणोपः 114, 115.
 अरुः 148.
 अरुक्षणम् 53, 54, 171, 201.
 अरुधुत्वात् 232.
 अरुन्धुसानाम् 85.
 अरुवीत् 230.
 अरुक्षत् 139.
 अरुलोन्त्यः 147.
 अरुलोन्त्यस्य 212, 213, 214.
 अरुलोन्त्यापवादः 212.
 अरुलोन्त्यविशेषः 212.
 अव्यपवृक्तम् 131.
 अव्यपवृक्तस्य 130.
 अव्यपवृक्ते 131.
 अव्यपयोगि 57.
 अव्युपधात् 141.
 अवकीर्णः 71.
 अवकाशः 218, 220.
 अवकाशे 183, 186.
 अवग्रहात् 136.
 अवचत् 163.

अवतिष्ठते 229.
 अवधारणानि 52.
 अवयवः 126.
 अवयवग्रहणेन 125, 126.
 अवयवस्य 126, 130.
 अवयवाः 126, 152.
 अवयवाभ्यः 130.
 अवयवे 76.
 अवयवेषु 77.
 अवयवैः 126.
 अवर्णः 81, 103, 118.
 अवर्णम् 118, 131.
 अवर्णकुलम् 81.
 अवर्णस्य 83.
 अवर्णात् 131.
 अवर्णोपवस्य 132.
 अवश्यम् 22, 23, 64, 75, 110,
 112, 146, 162, 163, 179,
 190, 219, 222, 223.
 अवशिष्यते 56.
 अवाम्येतावित् 30.
 अवात् 103.
 अवात्तम् 103.
 अवात्ताम् 100.
 अवादेशे 230.
 अवासीत् 227.
 अविचालि 57.
 अविचालिभिः 101.
 अविचालिषु 51.
 अविज्ञानतः 78.
 अविज्ञातम् 28.
 अविद्वांसः 25, 31, 37.
 अविमर्शिकः 114, 133, 221.
 अविमर्शोः 231.
 अविशेषेण 114, 146, 147, 187,
 195, 224, 226, 229.

- अवीत् 231.
 अवृद्धम् 41.
 अवृद्धि 57.
 अवैयाकरणः 22, 24.
 अश्नुते 173.
 अश्नोतिग्रहणम् 132.
 अश्नोतेः 132, 173.
 अश्वः 11, 46, 76, 100, 119, 228.
 अश्वमुच्यते 229.
 अशक्त्या 106.
 अशक्तिजार्थः 105, 106.
 अशक्यम् 186.
 अशास्त्रान्वितस्य 108.
 अशिष्टम् 50, 108, 109.
 अष्टमे 192.
 अष्टादश्या 83.
 अस्ति 56, 61, 63, 83, 89-92, 97, 103, 105, 107, 112, 120, 127-129, 131, 135, 137, 140, 147, 148, 160-162, 164-167, 172, 196, 198, 214, 219, 223, 227-230, 232, 233.
 अस्तु 68, 70, 77, 84, 114, 139, 141, 142, 159, 161, 162, 172, 179, 185, 215.
 अस्थाने 192.
 अस्थि 200.
 अस्माकम् 70.
 अस्माभिः 62, 155.
 अस्मिन् 42, 165, 166, 169, 186.
 अस्मै 187, 192, 195.
 अस्य 33, 46, 63, 67, 72, 91, 94, 105, 151, 175, 176, 183, 192, 218, 220, 233-235.
 असत् 137.
 असत्याम् 228.
 असति 161.
 असन्दिग्धम् 164-166, 169, 170.
 असन्देहः 21, 24, 53, 182-184.
 असन्देहार्थः 24, 125, 201, 202.
 असम्प्रत्ययः 181, 186.
 असम्बद्धम् 217.
 असम्भवः 130, 131, 219.
 असम्भवि 99.
 असम्भवे 219.
 असमर्थः 152.
 असमर्थम् 152.
 असमर्था 152.
 असि 25, 42.
 असिद्धम् 105, 111, 135.
 असिद्धः 220.
 असिद्धत्वात् 105, 128, 160.
 असिद्धे 145.
 असुराः 25.
 असुरैः 71.
 असौ 24, 29, 67, 70, 71, 107, 109, 110, 112, 180, 206, 219.
 अहम् 32, 63.
 अहकाराणि 139.
 अहार्णीत् 230.

- आक्षरसमाप्ताधिकेन 91, 92.
 आकारः 178, 183, 197, 201.
 आकारम् 87.
 आकारग्रहणार्थः 87.
 आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थम् 203.
 आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थेन 204.
 आकारलोपः 128, 204.
 आकारस्थस्य 128.
 आकारस्य 180, 197, 203, 204,
 205, 227.
 आकाशः 102.
 आकाशम् 51.
 आकृतिः 16, 48, 55, 56, 81, 84, 103.
 आकृतिम् 55, 56.
 आकृतिमतः 184, 190.
 आकृतिमन्तः 184, 190.
 आकृत्या 55, 56.
 आकृतौ 56, 57.
 आख्यातम् 33, 35.
 आगमः 21, 22, 117, 154.
 आगमाः 85, 86, 118.
 आगमकालेन 47.
 आगमलिङ्गम् 188.
 आगमानाम् 173.
 आगमिनः 173.
 आगमेषु 85.
 आगमौ 172, 173.
 आह 134.
 आच्छादयामः 103, 104.
 आचष्टे 192.
 आचार्यः 54, 91, 128, 162, 168,
 171, 186, 191, 200, 204,
 205, 232.
 आचार्यप्रवृत्तिः 168, 204, 205,
 232.
 आचार्यस्य 50, 122, 127, 128,
 135, 158.
 आचार्याः 75, 157.
 आचार्याणाम् 157, 163, 182.
 आचार्याचारः 184.
 आचार्याचारात् 182, 184.
 आचार्येण 48, 75.
 आचार्यैः 192.
 आचारात् 157.
 आचारे 67, 71.
 आटतुः 132.
 आटुः 132.
 आत् 73, 78, 121, 124, 176-
 178, 182, 183, 191, 210.
 आतः 78, 128, 204.
 आवृद्धः 108.
 आदैच 209.
 आदैज्जातस्य 179.
 आदैचाम् 194.
 आत्मनः 100.
 आत्मा 199.
 अतः 138.
 आचर्यणः 65.
 आदयः 46, 67, 82, 84-86.
 आदिः 82-84, 97, 226.
 आदित्यः 102, 163.
 आदित्यम् 102.
 आदित्यवत् 102.
 आदित्वम् 168.
 आदितः 54, 191.
 आदिभिः 83.

आदिस्थः 92, 95.	आयुः 47.
आदिस्थस्य 91.	आयुष्मत् 54, 191.
आदिषु 106.	आर्त्विजीनाः 33.
आदीन् 43.	आर्धघातुकस्य 234, 235.
आदीनाम् 82.	आर्धघातुकयोः 221.
आदेः 223.	आर्धघातुके 127, 215.
आदेशः 154, 157, 219.	आर्याः 65.
आदेशाः 121, 124, 148, 188, 201.	आरण्याः 44.
आदेशौ 219.	आरभ्यमाणः 206.
आदैच् 184, 189, 190, 194.	आरभ्यते 48, 187, 220.
आदैचः 187, 188, 193.	आरभते 170.
आदैचाम् 193.	आलब्धये 200.
आन्तर्यतः 89, 121, 124, 201, 207.	आलभेत 24, 200.
आन्तर्यम् 94.	आलूय 126.
आन्यभाव्यम् 100, 102.	आवर्तते 190.
आनर्थक्यम् 68.	आवर्तिन्यः 190.
आनुनासिक्यम् 199.	आविवेश 33.
आनुपूर्वी 86.	आवृत्तः 56.
आनुपूर्व्येण 80.	आवृत्तिः 98.
आनुवतुः 132.	आवृत्तितः 98, 99.
आनुवुः 132.	आवृत्तेः 98.
आप्नोति 29, 30.	आवृढः 164.
आपन्नम् 70.	आश्रयत्वात् 193.
आपिशलम् 74.	आश्रयता 193.
आभ्याम् 149.	आश्रयम् 193, 194.
आभीक्ष्ण्ये 54.	आश्रयः 193.
आभ्रगुप्तायनिः 178.	आश्रयाणि 193, 194.
आभ्रमयम् 178.	आश्रये 193.
आभ्राः 85.	आश्रीयमाणः 200.
आभ्रेडितम् 192.	आश्वत्थीः 130.
आमिक्षावतः 60.	आशुगामित्वात् 101.
आत्यम् 97.	आस्यम् 88.
आयादीनाम् 206.	आस्यात् 88.
आयाहि 11.	आस्ये 88.
	आसक्तुम् 80.
	आसङ्क्ष्यामि 80.

आसज्य 184.

आसदयति 71.

आसीत् 48.

आह 16, 30, 35, 37, 46, 48,

55, 58, 61, 69, 70, 80, 82,

85, 90, 98, 106, 107, 112,

124, 154, 159, 181, 185,

202, 229.

आहर 187.

आहिताग्निः 41.

आहुः 183.

आहोपुन्यिकामात्रम् 90.

आहोस्वित् 44, 48, 49, 66, 88,

201, 212.

इ.

इः 227.

इह 116, 139, 207, 208, 212-

214, 221.

इक्ष्वाकरणात् 225, 226.

इक्ष्वा 157, 203, 208-210, 212-

214, 217, 218, 220-222,

223, 227, 235.

इका 221, 233.

इक्ष्वाहणम् 203.

इक्ष्वाणयोः 233.

इक्ष्वाणा 225, 226

इक्ष्वायन्ति 35.

इक्षितम् 16.

इक्ष्वायस्य 215.

इक्ष्वा 233.

इक्ष्वाति 170, 196.

इद 139.

इदिधिः 139.

इम् 139, 170.

इक्ष्वाहणम् 171.

इक्ष्वाहणेष्णु 163, 170.

इत् 83, 97, 98, 147, 168, 185.

इत्थंलिङ्गा 184.

इत्त्वम् 168.

इत्त्वत् 193, 194.

इत्त्व 190.

इत्तराणां 193.

इत्तरया 127, 181, 186.

इति 6, 11, 16, 23-26, 28, 29,

32, 33, 35, 37, 41-44, 46-

49, 51-53, 55-61, 63-67,

69-77, 79-82, 84-86, 88,

89, 91-101, 103, 107-119,

121-128, 131-142, 144-148,

150-157, 159-174, 176-

187, 189-192, 195-202,

204-206, 208-210, 212-222,

224-235.

इतिहासः 65.

इदम् 30, 43, 50, 57, 58, 60,

61, 75, 79, 85, 88, 79,

104, 112, 116, 125, 135,

140, 141, 143, 145, 150,

151, 153, 154, 156, 157,

173, 177, 178, 181, 182,

184, 187, 188, 192, 194,

199-201, 212, 217, 226,

228, 231, 235.

इदानीम् 61, 68, 75, 135, 142,

155, 163, 181, 213, 214,

219-221, 224, 233, 234.

इदुतौ 136.

इदुङ्ग्याम् 147.
 इन्द्रः 121, 126, 201.
 इन्द्रम् 149.
 इन्द्राय 46.
 इन्द्रशत्रुः 26.
 इमम् 208.
 इमाम् 25, 33.
 इमानि 25, 116.
 इमे 47, 80, 85, 101, 143,
 152, 188 235.
 इमौ 142, 171, 201.
 इयता 186, 222.
 इयम् 24, 60, 122, 125, 183, 192.
 इय 25, 28, 32, 39, 151, 171,
 214.
 इवर्णः 81, 103, 118.
 इवर्णोवर्णाभ्याम् 131.
 इवर्णोवर्णे 131.

ईकारः 94.
 ईत् 112.
 ईले 11.
 ईषा 121.
 ईषिणः 35.

इष्टम् 80, 81, 218.
 इष्टबुद्धयर्थम् 174.
 इष्टवाची 218.
 इष्टाः 80.
 इष्टान् 80.
 इष्टिम् 41.
 इष्यते 76.
 इष्यन्ते 81.
 इषे 11.
 इह 52, 61, 71, 96, 99, 104,
 110, 115, 117, 122-124,
 126, 127, 129, 132, 133,
 137-139, 145-146, 148,
 154, 160, 163, 168, 169,
 177-180, 183, 187, 192,
 193, 197, 202, 215, 216,
 218-222, 226, 230, 232.
 इहार्यम् 224, 227.

इ.

ईहमानानाम् 155.
 ईहितव्यम् 215-217.
 ईहिता 215-217.
 ईहितुम् 215-217.

उ.

उ 149, 159.
 उः 114, 133, 166, 167, 169,
 222, 234, 235.
 उ२ 159.
 उक्तः 44, 184.
 उक्तम् 44, 56, 70, 77, 78, 84,
 98, 108, 114, 135, 142,
 154, 179, 186, 200, 225.

उक्ता 43, 49, 183.
 उक्तानि 44, 49.
 उक्ते 44, 76.
 उच्चार्य 80.
 उच्चार्यम् 83.
 उच्चार्यन्ते 86.
 उच्चारणम् 80, 99, 117.
 उच्चारणक्रियः 80.

उच्चारयेत् 200.
 उच्चारितेन 16.
 उच्यते 16, 48, 60, 61, 62, 71,
 75, 78, 83, 88, 98, 99, 112,
 114, 115, 150, 160, 163,
 177, 180, 182-185, 196,
 200, 205, 206, 214, 218,
 224, 226, 229, 231, 232.
 उच्यन्ते 188.
 उच्यमानः 206, 207.
 उच्यमाने 201.
 उच्छिद्य 61.
 उत्तमाम् 98.
 उत्तरकालम् 75.
 उत्तरत्र 115.
 उत्तरपदलोपः 151.
 उत्तरपदवृद्धिः 179.
 उत्तरपदवृद्धौ 178, 179.
 उत्तरपदस्य 179.
 उत्तरपदे 179.
 उत्तरभूयस्त्वात् 119.
 उत्तरम् 105.
 उत्तरस्य 117, 122, 147, 148.
 उत्तरार्थम् 129, 205, 223, 224,
 229.
 उत्तरे 77.
 उत्तिष्ठ 149.
 उत्सृजम् 78.
 उत्सृज्य 209.
 उत्पत्तिः 152.
 उत्पत्तिताः 101.
 उत्सृज्यन्ते 187.
 उत्सर्गः 48, 229.
 उत्सर्गस्य 218, 220.
 उत्त्वे 139.
 उत्सर्गेण 210.

उत्त 25, 37, 163.
 उद्यते 42.
 उदकम् 121, 126, 199, 201.
 उदङ् 106, 117.
 उदबोध 228.
 उदबोधम् 228.
 उदबोधाम् 228.
 उदात्तः 81, 198, 200.
 उदात्तग्रहणम् 200.
 उदात्तम् 200.
 उदात्तस्य 198.
 उदाहरणम् 73, 78, 163.
 उदाहरन्ति 183.
 उदित् 169, 171.
 उदीच्येषु 65.
 उदुम्बरवर्णानाम् 30.
 उपगीतः 82.
 उपचाराः 96, 99.
 उपचारात् 157, 182, 183.
 उपचेतुम् 97.
 उपजनः 67, 101, 153, 154.
 उपजनविकारः 154.
 उपतापयोः 145.
 उपतिष्ठते 201.
 उपदिश्यते 138, 174.
 उपदिश्यन्ते 43, 45, 95, 112,
 126, 143.
 उपदिश्यमानस्य 88, 89, 90.
 उपदिश्येत 92, 138, 140.
 उपदिश्येरन् 116.
 उपदिशति 158, 192, 193.
 उपदिशेत् 119.
 उपदिष्टः 155, 187, 195.
 उपदिष्टा 81, 103.
 उपदिष्टाः 80, 138, 187.
 उपदिष्टे 44.

उपदिष्टेषु 45.

उपदेशः 79, 80, 81, 86-88, 90,
92, 105, 106, 110-112, 117,
140, 143, 144, 146, 158,
160, 174.

उपदेशस्य 105, 204.

उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् 206.

उपदेशात् 81, 84, 90.

उपदेशे 105, 140.

उपदेशेन 105.

उपदेष्टव्यः 140.

उपध्मानीयः 143, 144.

उपध्मानीयादेः 144.

उपधा 139, 144, 147, 221.

उपधायाः 168.

उपधासंज्ञा 147.

उपन्यासः 30, 93, 102, 109, 130.

उपपद्यते 72, 74, 76, 226.

उपसर्गात् 145.

उपसर्गेन 56.

उपसृष्ट 55, 56.

उपयुक्ता 46.

उपरता 56.

उपरिष्ठात् 122, 136.

उपलक्षयितुम् 190.

उपलब्धिः 102.

उपलब्धौ 65.

उपलभ्य 185.

उपलभ्यते 56, 100, 102.

उपलभ्यन्ते 65, 153.

उपलभते 102.

उपविश्य 186.

उपस्थास्यते 98.

उपस्थितम् 221.

उपसङ्गान्ता 213, 214.

उपसर्गः 33, 35.

उपसरजः 205.

उपात्तः 53, 54.

उपादाय 58.

उपादीयते 60, 61.

उपादीयमाने 53.

उपायेन 23.

उत्तिजः 144.

उत्तिजिषति 144.

उत्तिजता 144, 145.

उत्तिजितुम् 144, 145.

उत्तिजक 147.

उत्ते 145.

उत्तौ 145.

उभयतः 133.

उभयथा 48, 49.

उभयम् 48, 84, 154, 200, 211, 218.

उभयसंज्ञानि 177.

उभयोः 122.

उभयोपदेशः 44.

उभे 189, 196.

उभौ 109, 171.

उभितुम् 203.

उभितव्यम् 203.

उभिता 203.

उरःकः 148.

उरःकेण 148.

उरःकेण 144.

उरःपः 148.

उरःपेण 144, 148.

उरःपेण 144.

उरसि 33.

उवडादेशः 230.

उवर्णः 81, 103, 118.

उशती 37.

उष्णम् 199.

उष्ट्रमुक्तः 151.

उष्ट्रमुखम् 151.

उषिताः 63.

ऊ.

ऊ 159.
ऊकालः 117, 159.
ऊढा 121.
ऊत 112.

ऊर्मिम् 42.
ऊष 61, 63, 66.
ऊषशब्दः 156.
ऊहः 21, 22.

कृ. कृ.

कृत्वता 177.
कृशः 150.
कृकारः 114, 115, 133.
कृकारग्रहणम् 132, 133.
कृकारस्य 105, 132, 133.
कृकारात् 133, 135.
कृकाराणाम् 235.
कृकारे 111, 132, 169.
कृच्छति 222.
कृच्छिः 212, 213, 214, 221.
कृच्छेः 213, 222.
कृत् 136, 169.

कृतः 136, 168, 215.
कृतकः 106, 107.
कृतकशब्दः 107.
कृतकशब्दस्य 107.
कृदशः 213.
कृदोः 124, 202.
कृपिडः 107.
कृपिडुः 107.
कृल्लृ 105, 157.
कृषयः 71.
कृषिः 67, 99.
कृषिसंप्रदायः 64.
कृ 222.

लृ.

लृकारः 105, 106.
लृकारम् 111.
लृकारस्य 105.
लृकारोपदेशः 105, 106, 115.

लृतकः 106, 107, 112.
लृतकाय 106.
लृपिडुः 107.
लृपिडः 107.

ए.

ए 119, 229.
एः 231.
एओइ 116, 157.
एकः 37, 52, 66, 95, 100, 102,
122, 152, 199, 218, 219,
233.
एकम् 102, 212, 221, 226.

एकगम्यः 39.
एकत्वम् 153.
एकत्वात् 95.
एकदेशः 113.
एकदेशाः 126.
एकम् 191.
एकयोगः 210.

एकयोगे 210.
 एकवर्णवत् 129.
 एकवर्णाः 149, 155.
 एकवर्णानाम् 149, 155.
 एकवर्णानि 149.
 एकविभक्तिकत्वम् 188.
 एकविंशतिधा 65.
 एकशतम् 65.
 एकशेषः 48.
 एकस्य 100, 161, 167, 219.
 एका 152.
 एकाच् 95, 96, 98, 99.
 एकादेशे 121.
 एकाम् 99.
 एकारः 118-120, 123, 206.
 एकारम् 119.
 एकेन 84.
 एकैकशः 99.
 एकैकस्य 29, 46, 67.
 एह 177.
 एङः 119.
 एचः 118.
 एचि 121.
 एचौ 201.
 एणीकृतः 82.
 एलका 121.
 एत् 116.
 एतत् 29, 33, 39, 43, 44, 49,
 51, 55, 56, 62, 73, 76, 78,
 80, 84, 88-92, 94, 97-99,
 103, 104, 110, 111, 115,
 118, 119, 122, 127-129,
 131, 135-137, 144, 145,
 147, 148, 155, 158, 160,
 162, 164-172, 179, 181,
 182, 185, 186, 189-193,

198, 200, 201, 204-206,
 208, 210, 218, 221, 222,
 227, 228, 230, 232-235.
 एतस्मिन् 45, 46, 65, 197, 219.
 एतस्य 89, 90, 91, 127, 156.
 एतान् 62.
 एतानि 92, 107, 156, 159, 205.
 एतावन्तः 163.
 एतावान् 65, 189.
 एति 149.
 एते 64, 66, 94, 157, 208.
 एतेन 58, 92.
 एतेषाम् 63, 66, 86, 125, 157,
 158, 221.
 एतैः 135.
 एनम् 54, 65, 69.
 एनाम् 37.
 एभिः 149.
 एव 29, 30, 43, 47, 49, 52-
 59, 61, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71,
 73, 75, 78, 84, 88, 90, 91,
 93, 94, 97, 103-105, 107,
 110, 112, 119, 120, 124,
 127, 128, 130, 132, 133-
 136, 140, 144-146, 148,
 154, 156, 159-161, 163-
 166, 169, 171, 183-186,
 188-191, 194, 200-202, 206,
 210, 213, 214, 216-218,
 220-223, 225-229, 232, 234,
 235.
 एवम् 16, 29, 30, 42-44, 46,
 55, 61, 67-71, 74, 76-78,
 81, 83, 84, 88, 89, 92, 97-
 99, 101, 103, 104, 109,
 110, 122, 134, 141, 148,

150, 151, 159, 161, 163, 92, 98, 107, 108, 110, 115,
166-173, 177-181, 183, 185, 122, 125, 127, 132, 135,
198, 199, 207, 214, 215, 136, 141, 142, 155, 159,
217, 219, 220, 221, 226, 161, 178-181, 200, 202,
230-232. 206, 214, 216, 218, 219,
229.

एवंकालः 159.

एवंजातीयकानि 155, 156.

एवंजातीयकेषु 201.

एषः 25, 31, 39, 45, 46, 49.

55, 56, 58, 70, 77, 80, 82,

एषा 115, 120, 158, 159, 171-

एषाम् 39, 58, 63, 144.

एषितव्या 226.

एषु 58, 149.

ऐ.

ऐञ्च 116, 157.

ऐकारः 178, 183.

ऐकारस्य 180.

ऐकार्यार्त्त 153.

ऐच् 73, 78, 124, 136, 176,

177, 178, 182, 183, 191,

210.

ऐत् 116.

ऐचोः 119.

ऐचौ 118.

ऐतिकायनः 121.

ऐतिकायनः 117.

ऐस् 127.

ऐस्मावः 127.

ओ.

ओः 215.

ओकारः 119, 120, 206, 207.

ओकारम् 119.

ओत् 116.

ओदनः 51, 121.

ओम् 43.

औ.

औकारः 178, 183.

औकारस्य 180.

औकारौ 123.

औणादिकः 173.

औत् 116.

औतः 201.

औपगवः 121, 149.

क.

कृडति 204, 224, 226, 229.

कृडत्ययेषु 224.

किन् 187.

कृतुगतम् 30.

क्रियताम् 65.

क्रियते 45, 55, 58, 60, 61, 83,

84, 92, 106, 132, 136, 158,	कचित् 56, 134, 143, 223, 229.
160, 174, 184, 186, 190,	कस्यस्य 111.
192, 194, 195, 197, 203,	कसः 139.
208, 223, 235.	कसविधिः 139.
क्रियन्ते 55, 56, 103, 106, 157.	क्षिणः 82.
क्रियमाणम् 61.	क्षरति 173.
क्रियमाणे 123, 124, 128, 182,	क्षरन्ति 42.
183, 201.	क्षरम् 173.
क्रिया 16.	क्षिप्रः 214.
क्रियाशब्दः 106.	क्षिप्रशुद्रयोः 213, 222.
क्रियाशब्दाः 107.	क्षिप्ते 212, 213, 221.
क्रियेरन् 103.	क्षीयते 173.
कोटीयाः 217.	क्षुत् 60.
क 30, 39, 63, 66, 74, 85, 90,	क्षुद्रः 214.
124, 131, 144, 158, 189,	क्षुद्रे 213, 221.
209, 226.	क्षुम्नादिषु 135.

क.

कः 16, 29, 30, 51, 55, 61,	कण्डूयितानि 70.
67, 68, 72, 80, 89, 92, 95,	कण्डूयेत् 109.
105, 113, 114, 116, 123,	कतमस्मिन् 164.
125, 126, 128, 138-140,	कथयेत् 78.
153, 180, 189, 202, 204,	कथम् 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 55,
212, 218, 219, 223, 224.	56, 58, 84, 85, 89, 91, 99,
ककारः 128, 149, 180.	107, 114, 128, 133, 137,
ककारम् 129, 204, 206.	143, 146, 155, 157, 161,
ककारस्य 149, 156.	162, 168, 170, 172, 177,
ककारपाये 149, 150.	179, 180, 181, 187, 191,
ककारौ 136, 137.	194, 195, 199, 204, 208,
ककुदम् 16.	212, 221, 229, 232, 235.
कटकाः 56.	कथञ्चित् 220.
कण्टः 110.	कथञ्चातीयकः 48.
कण्ठे 33.	कदली 110.
कण्ठेन 53.	कदाचित् 118, 161.
कण्डूयति 109.	कपालान् 61.

कपालानि 61.
 कपिलः 16, 77.
 कपिलाम् 99.
 कपोतः 16.
 कम् 55.
 कञ्चित् 201.
 कम्बलदः 128, 204.
 कम्बोजेषु 65.
 कयाचित् 55, 106.
 कयोः 97, 188.
 कणै 192.
 कर्त्र्यम् 167.
 कर्तरि 215.
 कर्तव्यः 44, 46, 48, 55, 81, 86,
 87, 90, 92, 111, 112, 140,
 143, 144, 182.
 कर्तव्यम् 44, 117, 121-124, 126,
 131, 138, 139, 146, 151,
 169, 207, 213, 223, 224,
 226, 239.
 कर्तव्याः 235.
 कर्तव्ये 198.
 कर्ता 163, 215.
 कर्तारः 215.
 कर्तारौ 215.
 कर्तुम् 32, 155.
 कर्तुं 166, 235.
 कर्म 130, 131.
 कर्मणि 48, 71, 95.

कर्पति 163.
 कर्हिचित् 28.
 करणम् 75, 80, 97, 103.
 करणात् 97.
 करिष्यति 99.
 करिष्यते 83, 122, 132, 134,
 136, 147, 159, 184, 185,
 210, 222, 225, 226.
 करिष्यन् 58.
 करिष्यामि 58.
 करोति 33, 91, 97, 99, 122,
 127-129, 168-170, 196, 198,
 200, 201, 204, 206, 222,
 232, 233.
 करोषि 198.
 कल्पः 43.
 कल्पनम् 107.
 कल्पयितव्यः 107.
 कलः 82.
 कला 83, 84, 86.
 कलादिकाम् 83.
 कञ्चित् 48, 64, 68, 90, 98,
 106, 149, 150, 155, 162,
 192.
 कस्मात् 124, 128, 157, 176,
 201, 235.
 कस्य 227.
 कसेः 154.
 कस्यते 39.

का.

का 79, 145, 189, 193.
 काकुदम् 42.
 काण्डीरः 150.
 कानि 20, 152.

काण्टवः 149.
 कामम् 32.
 कामचारः 131, 221.
 कामधुक् 66.

कामयमाना 37.
 कार्यः 49, 52.
 कार्यम् 58, 99, 197, 225.
 कार्याः 35, 33.
 कार्या 58.
 कार्याणि 105, 106, 111, 159,
 193, 194.
 कार्यार्थः 143.
 कार्यिणः 190.
 कार्यिणौ 142.
 कार्ये 52.
 कार्येण 190.

कार्येषु 51, 106.
 कार्यपणम् 104.
 कार्यीः 16.
 कारकः 179.
 कारकेषु 76.
 कारणम् 63, 88, 91, 94, 102,
 198, 199, 213, 226.
 कालः 46, 88, 100.
 कालाः 33,
 कालानाम् 159.
 काशकृत्स्नम् 74.
 काष्ठम् 61, 130.

कि.

किञ्चित् 43, 47, 61, 74, 105,
 140, 155, 184, 194, 223.
 कित्करणम् 128, 204, 205.
 कित्करणे 128, 204.
 कित्वम् 139, 141.
 कित्वप्रतिषेधः 141.
 किति 128, 234.
 किम् 16, 30, 43, 44, 48, 49,
 53, 57, 58, 61, 63, 66, 69,
 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 83,
 87-89, 91, 92, 94, 102, 103,
 105, 112, 121, 123, 126-128,
 139, 142, 144-147, 150, 151,
 153-155, 157, 160, 163, 167,
 171, 173, 174, 178, 180-182,
 185-187, 190, 195-203, 208,
 212-214, 216, 219, 221, 223,
 225, 226, 231, 233, 234.
 किमर्थम् 171.
 किरिणा 96, 99.

कु.

कुः 134, 176.
 कुकुटः 44, 59, 136, 159.
 कुण्डम् 140, 181.
 कुण्डले 56.
 कुण्डिकाः 55.
 कुत्वम् 176, 177.
 कुतः 29, 33, 39, 51, 55, 63,
 80, 94, 100, 125, 149, 153,
 154, 158, 164-167, 169,
 170, 182, 184, 186, 189,
 190, 193, 206, 214.
 कुम्भकारः 58.
 कुमार्याः 181.
 कुमारी 106, 112.
 कुर्यात् 41, 99.
 कुर्वन् 16.
 कुर्वन्तः 25, 67.
 कुर्वन्ति 25, 32, 58, 183.
 कुर्वति 183.
 कुलम् 58, 103.
 कुशलः 29.

कृ.

कृटस्थः 101.
कृटस्थम् 57.
कृटस्थेषु 51, 54.
कृटस्थैः 101.
कृपः 71, 149, 155.

कृपम् 71.
कृपस्य 155.
कृपार्थः 149, 155, 156.
कृपे 149, 155, 156.

कृ.

कृत्यम् 75.
कृत्वा 99.
कृत्वा 56, 64, 75, 91, 103, 108,
128, 155, 162, 168, 170,
173, 204, 232.
कृत्वायाः 180.
कृतः 22, 41, 68, 192, 193.
कृतम् 41, 44, 95, 187, 200,
221.
कृते 128.
कृतवन्तः 63, 157.
कृतान्तेषु 183.

कृतानि 152.
कृति 126.
कृते 144, 146, 160, 168, 204,
205, 228, 230, 232, 233.
कृतेः 154.
कृप 114.
कृपः 133.
कृपेः 105, 106.
कृष्णः 77.
कृष्णम् 200.
कृष्णाम् 181.

कृ.

कृप्तः 106, 133.
कृप्तशिख 114, 115.
कृप्तवान् 133.

कृपिस्थः 112.
कृपिस्थस्य 105, 111.
कृपे 111.

के, कै, कौ.

के 39, 82, 95, 106, 134, 143,
165.
केचित् 155, 183.
केन 74.
केवलम् 64.

केवलानि 73, 78.
केषाम् 11, 198.
कैः 192.
कौ 93.
कौण्डिन्यः 142.

ख.

खट्वर्यः 123.
खट्वा 121, 201.
खट्वाडकम् 92.
खट्वाभिः 127.
खट्वेन्द्रः 121, 201.
खट्वेषणा 121.
खट्वेया 201.
खट्वेति कायनः 121, 201.
खट्वेलका 121, 201.
खट्वोदकम् 121, 201.
खट्वोदा 121, 201.
खट्वोदनः 121, 201.

खट्वोपगवः 121, 201.
खण्डिकोपाध्यायः 198.
खदिराङ्गारः 56.
खनन् 71.
खव् 172.
खयि 172.
खरमुखः 151.
खलु 11, 22, 46, 54, 60, 61,
63, 64, 68, 90, 99, 109,
111, 135, 155, 156, 158,
186, 188, 192.

खा, खे.

खादिरः 60.
खानकः 71.
खानकवत् 71.

खारीशतम् 152.
खेदविगमः 60.
खेदात् 60.

ग.

ग्रहस्तः 82.
ग्रहणम् 51-53, 87, 88, 90-92, 94,
115, 122, 125, 126, 132,
146, 157, 159, 170, 178,
179, 197, 199, 201, 207,
208, 212, 213, 214.
ग्रहणस्य 88, 94.
ग्रहणात् 103, 160.

ग्रहणे 70.
ग्रहणेन 87, 103, 126.
ग्रहणेषु 95, 98, 103.
ग्रहीष्यति 81, 103.
ग्राम्यः 44, 59.
ग्राम्यसुकरः 44.
गृथिति 203.

ग.

गच्छन्ति 209.
गणेन 177.
गत्वा 58.
गता 85.

गतिः 150, 151.
गम्यते 37, 44, 52, 149, 150.
गम्या 60.
गम्यायाम् 60.

गमयेत् 30.
गमिम् 65.
गतिकर्मा 65.
गमेः 145, 207.
गर्गः 82-84.

गर्गः 196.
गर्दभः 76.
गरीयान् 46.
गरीयांसम् 170.

गा. गि.

गाम् 181, 192.
गापोष्टक 129, 206.
गाव्यादयः 44.
गाव्यादिषु 45.

गाव्यादीन् 108.
गावः 131.
गावी 29, 46, 67.
गिरिणा 96, 99.

गु.

गुणः 16, 121, 124, 177, 191,
199, 200, 203-207, 209,
210, 213-217, 220-222,
233-235.
गुणग्रहणम् 223.
गुणग्रहणस्य 223.
गुणम् 71.
गुणविधौ 223.
गुणभेदात् 199.
गुणवृद्धिग्रहणम् 208, 209.
गुणवृद्धिग्रहणस्य 208.
गुणवृद्धी 124, 203, 208-210,
212, 217, 218, 220, 235.

गुणवृद्धयोः 226.
गुणशब्दाः 106, 107.
गुणस्य 198, 199.
गुणाः 81, 199, 200.
गुणे 122, 204, 205, 215, 230,
232.
गुणेन 206.
गुणेषु 200, 221.
गुरु 92, 147, 170, 189.
गुरुलघुता 190.
गुरुसंज्ञा 147.
गुरोः 115, 147, 136.
गुहा 35.

गृ.

गृह्णाति 103, 137.
गृहीयात् 87, 88.
गृह्णाते 137.
गृह्णन्ते 132-139.
गृह्यमाणम् 221.

गृह्यमाणेन 221.
गृह्येत 78.
गृहीत्वा 192.
गृहीतम् 104.

गो.

गोडयचः 129.

गोका 165.

गोप्रहणम् 130.

गोणी 29, 46, 67.

गोता 29, 46, 67.

गोश्रुतात 117.

गोदः 128, 204.

गोपोतलिका 29, 46, 67.

गौ.

गौः 11, 16, 29, 45, 46, 67, गौघेरः 142.
76, 192.

घृ, घ.

घ्नन्ति 154.

घटम् 58.

घटस्थ 99.

घटिकः 96.

घटिकाः 55.

घटीनाम् 30.

घटेन 58, 96.

घा, घृ, घे, घो.

घातकः 154.

घातयति 154.

घृतम् 77.

घेः 215.

घोषवत् 41.

ङ, ङि.

ङञः 172.

ङमुद् 172.

ङमुण् 172.

ङमः 172.

ङमुद् 117.

ङित् 195.

ङिति 205, 215.

च, च.

च्यौ 94.

च 11, 22 23-25, 29, 30, 32,

33, 35, 41, 43, 45-47, 51,

54-56, 58-61, 63-71, 73,

75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 83-86,

88, 89, 91-96, 98-119, 122,

124, 126, 128-143, 146-

152, 154-159, 161, 163,

164-170, 174, 175, 177-

181, 183-186, 188-190,

192-194, 196, 198-201,

203-207, 209, 210, 212-

214, 216-222, 224-226, 228,

230-235.

चक्र 61, 63, 65.

चक्रा 66.

चक्षुष्मान् 152.

चकाराकरणात् 210.

चत्वारः 65.

चत्वारि 25, 33, 35.

चतुर्थम् 35.

चतुर्थीः 106.

चतुर्भिः 46.

चतुर्भावाः 121, 124.

चतुर्भावाणाम् 121, 124.

चतुरक्षरम् 41.

चतुष्टयी 106.

चन्द्रतारकवत् 175.

चपेटाम् 198.

चयनम् 218, 220.

चर्चा 73, 78.

चषालः 183.

चा, चि.

चायका 218, 220.

चिनुते 69.

चिरम् 46.

चे, चो.

चेत् 63, 67, 70, 81, 84, 100, चोः 176.

116, 126, 132, 195, 196, चोद्यते 88, 90, 92, 105, 130,

212-214, 225. 131, 223.

चेष्टन्ते 35.

चोदितः 75.

चेष्टितम् 16.

छ, छि, छे.

छः 178.

छिन्द्यात् 110.

छन्दः 177.

छिन्नेषु 16.

छन्दसि 136, 177.

छिनत्ति 222.

छन्दोगानाम् 119.

छे 127.

छन्दोवत् 177.

ज.

जकारः 180.

जापयति 91, 122, 127, 128, 135,

जकारेण 172.

162, 168-171, 200, 204, 205, 232.

जातः 66.

जापकार्यः 206.

जान 66-68, 70, 71, 86, 175.

जायते 48, 51, 55, 58, 89.

जापकम् 89-92, 97, 127-130,

जेयः 22, 23, 97, 198, 199.

135, 162, 168, 170, 204,

206, 232.

ज्यायः 46.

ज्वलति 28.

जापकानि 205.

ज.

जगाम 46.
जटिलः 98.
जनाः 212.
जनेः 205, 206.
जयम् 29, 30.
जर्गुधेः 168.
जरसम् 66.

जलम् 194.
जले 194.
जश्वम् 177.
जश्वे 144.
जशभावः 144.
जहाति 199.

जा.

जात्याव्यायाम् 48.
जातस्य 41, 183.
जातिशब्दाः 106, 107.
जानते 39.

जानन्ति 183.
जानाति 29, 67, 70.
जायते 126.
जाया 37.

जि, जी, जु.

जिह्वा 42.
जिह्वामूलीयः 143.
जिह्वीर्षति 168.
जीरदानुः 142.

जीवति 46.
जीवेः 142.
जुसि 215, 231.

झ.

झकारः 172.
झकारपरः 172.
झकारपरयोः 171.
झकारभकारपरे 172.
झकारभकारयोः 172.
झकारभकारौ 172, 173.
झकारस्य 171.

झमञ् 171.
झरः 162, 163.
झरि 142.
झञ्ग्रहणानि 139.
झलः 103, 139.
झलि 103.

ञ, ञ.

ञिणति 223-225.
ञकारः 171, 180.
ञकारेण 171.

ञमङ्णनम् 171.
ञिति 225.

टि, ड, ढ.

टिलोपः 205.
डः 145.
डम् 205.
डवचनम् 206.

ढलोपे 164.
ढलोपः 228.
ढलोपे 228.

ण, ण, णि.

ण्ड 101.
णः 133, 134, 136.
णकारः 163, 171, 180.
णकारीयति 157.
णत्वम् 135, 144, 148.

णित् 95.
णिति 225.
णिश्चयोः 232, 233.
णिश्चिभ्याम् 232.

त.

त्रयः 33, 65, 173.
त्रयाणाम् 180, 201, 205.
त्रयी 107.
त्रिः 98.
त्रिधा 33.
त्रिपुरुषानुक्रमम् 41.
त्रिमात्रम् 121, 124.
त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राः 201.
त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणाम् 201.

त्रियकारकम् 161.
त्रिव्यञ्जनः 163.
त्रिविष्टचकम् 194.
त्रिषु 33.
त्रीणि 35.
त्वः 25, 37.
त्वरिताः 43.
त्वस्मै 37.
त्वोः 11

त.

तः 124, 202.
तम् 58, 66, 71, 185.
तकारः 125, 201, 202.
तकारे 125, 201, 202.
तकारी 136, 137.
तच्छेषः 212, 217, 218.
तत् 16, 28-31, 41, 43, 44, 46,
48, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58, 61,
63-67, 69-71, 73, 75-78,

83, 85, 90, 92, 93, 98, 99,
101-105, 108, 109, 115,
122, 124, 126, 130, 134,
142, 145, 151, 152, 155,
159, 162, 163, 170, 174,
177, 178, 183, 185, 187,
189, 190, 192-194, 196, 199-
201, 206, 209, 211-214, 218,
223, 224, 226, 231, 233, 235.

तत्कालस्य 197, 202.

तत्कालानाम् 197.

तत्कालेषु 159.

तत्पुरुषः 24.

तत्र 11, 47, 49, 51, 54, 61, 65,

93-95, 98, 99, 123, 126,

139, 146, 148, 153, 155,

156, 160, 163, 169, 170,

186, 189, 190, 192-197,

200, 214, 218, 221.

तत्रभवतः 31.

तत्रभवताम् 120, 183.

तत्रभवन्तः 71.

तत्त्वम् 37, 57.

ततः 24, 71, 75, 86, 122, 134,

136, 145, 159, 162, 168,

192, 204, 205, 209, 210,

212, 220, 222, 225, 226,

232.

ततश्च 39.

तथा 43, 55, 60, 61, 64, 67,

70, 71, 81, 85, 103, 131,

151, 161, 186, 199.

तथाजातीयकः 122.

तथाजातीयकम् 122.

तद्धितः 74.

तद्धितम् 41.

तद्धिताः 41, 74, 75, 76.

तद्धितार्थः 59.

तद्धितेषु 223.

तद्भावः 57.

तद्भावितग्रहणे 179.

तद्भिन्नस्य 199.

तद्वत् 58, 103, 154, 209.

तद्वति 179.

तद्वानः 71.

तद्वपवादः 215, 217, 218.

तदर्थः 151.

तदर्थगतिः 151.

तदर्थस्य 151.

तदर्थेन 112.

तद्वृत्ताम् 66.

तद्व्यध्वम् 61.

तपसः 103, 117, 124, 197, 202.

तपसकरणम् 127, 128, 169, 197.

तपसकरणे 128.

तपसाः 103.

तपराणि 116, 118.

तपरे 124, 128.

तपसा 61.

तमर्थम् 30.

तया 99.

तयोः 118, 163, 183.

तर्कः 154.

तर्वाङ्गः 71.

तर्हि 10, 16, 30, 47, 58, 63,

68, 69, 72-76, 78, 81, 83-

85, 89, 93, 95, 97, 107,

114, 115, 118, 122-125,

127-131, 134, 135, 139,

141, 142, 145-147, 150-

152, 158, 160, 163-170,

179, 180, 185, 187, 188,

190, 192, 194, 195, 198,

200-202, 206, 207, 214,

215, 221, 226-230, 232,

233, 235.

तपति 96, 129, 148, 215.

तल्लोकम् 93, 137, 160.

तल्लिङ्गम् 184.

तस्मात् 16, 23, 25, 28, 47, 92,

102, 106, 132, 140, 159,

163, 169, 187, 189, 207, 133-137, 144, 151, 160,
 225, 226, 233. 162, 185, 192, 193, 195,
 तस्मिन् 106, 226. 199, 213, 218, 220, 222,
 तस्मै 198. 228.
 तस्य 30, 48, 90, 105, 106, तस्याः 229.
 109-111, 122, 129, 132, तस्याम् 24.

ता.

तात् 124, 202. 137, 142, 158-160, 163,
 तान् 22, 33, 103, 104. 173, 181-184, 203-205, 219,
 तानि 35. 221.
 ताम् 24. तावद्वायः 178, 180.
 तालु 42. तावति 58.
 तावत् 11, 44, 52, 58, 59, 61, तावती 178, 180.
 62, 75, 85, 106, 109, 122,

ति, ती.

तिद् 112. तिलः 152.
 तित्ठ 39. तिष्ठः 170.
 तित्ठना 39. तीर्णाः 63.

तु.

तु 25, 29, 31, 32, 49, 54, 56, 63, तुन्दशोकयोः 129, 205.
 65, 68, 71, 83, 84, 90, 95, तुघ्नवत् 39.
 97, 99, 100, 109, 110, 112, तुरीयम् 35.
 128, 130, 137, 147, 153, तुल्यः 88, 94, 131, 188.
 155, 156, 162, 168, 169, तुल्यम् 69.
 185, 189, 194, 204-206, तुल्यजातीयान् 158.
 216, 225, 226, 232, 235. तुल्यजातीयेषु 158.
 तुह 126. तुल्यरूपे 136.
 तुक्मे 127.

तु, ते.

तुमोतिशब्दम् 135. तेन 42, 71, 88, 97, 118, 134,
 ते 22, 39, 42, 65, 68, 71, 88, 99, 149, 153, 159, 183, 185,
 119, 131, 183, 185, 229, 245. 200, 216, 218, 233.
 तेभ्यः 43. तेषाम् 58, 143, 152, 178, 187.
 तेर 61. तेषु 32, 86, 208.

तै, तौ.

तै: 71.
तैलदाने 152.

तैलम् 77, 131.
तौ 93, 109, 119, 142, 232.

द.

दश्यते 55, 66, 101, 134, 196, 198.
दश्यन्ते 65, 68, 101, 149, 177, 181.
दशि: 213, 214, 221.
दशो: 222.
दष्ट: 101.
*दष्टम् 75.
दष्टान्त: 196.
दष्टान्ते 197.
द्रव्यम् 16, 48, 55, 56.
द्रव्यवत् 96, 99.
द्रव्यान्तरस्था 56.
द्रव्ये 55.
द्रव्येषु 130.
द्रष्टव्य: 52, 151, 193.
द्रष्टव्यम् 221.
द्रष्टा 102.
द्रव्यक्षरम् 41.
द्रव्यच: 129.
द्रव्यजलक्षण: 129, 130.
द्योतितम् 156.
द्यौ: 51.
द्वयो: 91, 97, 128, 167, 188, 189, 204, 219.
द्वि: 112, 163, 171.
द्विकार्ययुक्त: 218.
द्विकार्ययोग: 218, 219.
द्विगता: 85.
द्वितीया 221.
द्वियकारकम् 161.
द्विर्वचनम् 106, 112, 117, 140, 142, 144, 147, 148, 160, 162, 163.
द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधम् 162.
द्विर्वचनस्य 140, 142.
द्विर्वचनसामर्थ्यात् 163.
द्विर्वचने 142, 160, 161, 163.
द्विव्यञ्जनविधि: 136.
द्विव्यञ्जनाधय: 136.
द्विष्टानि 85.
द्विहलक्षणम् 132.
द्विहल: 132.
द्वे 33, 117, 148.
द्वौ 33, 136, 137, 219.

द.

द 101.
दक्षिणा: 99.
दकार: 125, 202.
दकारे 125, 202.

दकारोपध: 145.
दकारोपधे 144.
दण्ड: 100.
दण्ड्यन्ताम् 196.

दण्डयन्ति 196.
 दण्डिन 181.
 दत्तः 52.
 दत्त्वा 99.
 दत्वात् 109.
 ददर्श 37.
 ददाति 109, 198.
 दधि 106, 157, 200, 233.
 दम्भः 199.
 दर्भपवित्रपाणिः 186.
 दर्शनम् 99.
 दर्शनात् 100.

दर्शने 152.
 दर्शयति 233.
 दश 181.
 दशम्वयम् 25, 41.
 दशम्युत्तरकालम् 41.
 दहति 42.
 दहनकर्मा 61.
 दाक्षिणात्याः 59.
 दाडिमानि 181.
 दात्रम् 65.
 दातिः 65.

दि दी.

दिदेविषति 141.
 दिव्यम् 46.
 दिशिः 80.
 दीर्घः 81, 91, 92, 117, 121, 122,
 124, 126, 129, 159, 164,
 165.
 दीर्घग्रहणम् 120, 124.
 दीर्घप्लुतौ 93.

दीर्घत्वम् 122, 126.
 दीर्घवचनात् 123.
 दीर्घसञ्चयत् 64.
 दीर्घसत्राणि 64.
 दीर्घात् 127, 130, 138.
 दीर्घे 126, 127.
 दीव्यतः 97.

दु.

दुर्गः 39.
 दुर्धवाः 39.
 दुष्टतम् 147.
 दुष्टः 25, 26.

दुष्टान् 26.
 दुष्पीतम् 147.
 दुष्यति 29, 30.

दे.

देवः 33.
 देवदत्तः 52, 100, 108, 181,
 183, 184, 190, 196, 199.
 देवदत्तम् 98.
 देवदत्तशब्दः 190.
 देवदत्ताद् 192.
 देवविष्णुः 108.
 देविन्वा 141.

देवीः 11.
 देवेन 33.
 देशः 88, 100, 102.
 देशाः 102.
 देशान्तरे 64.
 देशान्तरेषु 64.
 देहि 106.

दो.

दोषः 70, 71, 76-78, 95, 97, दोषवान् 192.
 98, 108, 115, 122-124, 127, दोषसमुच्चयः 214.
 132, 135, 136, 139, 141, दोषाः 49, 82.
 142, 153, 179, 180, 200, दोषाय 70, 109.
 206, 214, 216.

ध, धः

ध्मातः 82.	धर्मः 22, 29, 64, 66-68, 70, 71.
ध्यानवन्तः 39.	धर्मनियमः 58, 61.
ध्रुवम् 57.	धर्मप्रयोजनः 58.
ध्वनिः 16.	धर्मम् 70.
धनम् 153.	धर्मस्य 61.
धनुःपु 146.	धर्माय 58.
धनंषि 146.	धर्मार्थः 58.

धा, धी.

धातवः 85, 149.	धातुभिः 86.
धातुः 91, 92, 95, 149, 155.	धातुषु 85.
धातुग्रहणम् 168, 169.	धावति 85.
धातुग्रहणस्य 168.	धीराः 39.

न.

न्यकुटीत् 233.	न्याय्यः 55, 56, 63, 107.
न्यद्वारीत् 230.	न्याय्यभावात् 107.
न्यधुवीत् 229.	न्याय्यम् 154, 200.
न्यनुवीत् 229.	न्याय्यस्य 107.
न्यपुटीत् 233.	न्यासः 136.
न्यमार्द 225.	न्यासम् 84.
न्यस्तारीत् 230.	न्यासेन 170.

न.

- न 16, 22-25, 28, 30-33, 35, 37, 41, 43, 46, 51-54, 56-58, 61-65, 68, 70-78, 80, 82, 83, 88-94, 96-103, 106-109, 112, 115, 117, 120, 122, 126-137, 139, 141-143, 145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153-155, 157-173, 176-182, 184-190, 192-194, 196-206, 208, 210, 214, 216-221, 223, 226-233, 235.
नः 133.
नकारान्तः 115.
नकारान्तस्य 115.
नन्दाः 144.
ननु 51, 56, 63, 68, 70, 73, 77, 78, 84, 98, 109, 114, 118, 112, 124, 128, 135, 142, 164-167, 179, 186, 194, 196, 199, 202, 220.
नयति 215.
नयेत् 30.
नरः 66.
नलोपादीति 153.
नवधा 65.

ना.

- नाचिकेतम् 69.
नादः 43.
नाला 97.
नामः 31.
नाम 6, 16, 30, 33, 35, 41, 80, 61, 68, 71, 92, 99, 106, 183, 199, 208, 229.
नार्ममनिः 135.
नावम् 194.
नावि 193.
नासिका 171.

नि.

- निगदिताः 22.
निघातः 112.
नित्यः 33, 49, 51-55, 161, 162, 167.
नित्यम् 57, 58, 138, 172.
नित्यलक्षणम् 57.
नित्यशब्दः 53, 54.
नित्यशब्दत्वात् 194.
नित्या 55.
नित्याः 101, 194, 195.
नित्ये 162, 163.
नित्येषु 101, 194.
निपातनात् 145.
निपातस्यस्य 91.
निपाताः 33, 35, 149, 155.
निपातानाम् 149, 155.
निमातव्यौ 232.
निमिषन्ति 35.
निमित्तम् 129, 142, 180, 206.
निमिषितम् 16.

नियतविषयाः 65.
 नियमः 45, 58, 60, 61, 67, 69,
 71, 208, 216-218, 220.
 नियमम् 67.
 नियमस्य 218.
 नियमात् 202, 216, 217.
 नियमार्थम् 132, 135, 226.
 नियमे 220.
 नियोगतः 131.
 निर्ग्राह्यः 102.
 निर्ग्राहिष्यते 71.
 निर्णयः 49.
 निर्दिश्यते 133, 201, 221, 223,
 231.
 निर्दिश्यमानस्य 148.
 निर्दिष्टः 122.
 निर्दिष्टस्य 113, 114.
 निर्देशः 114, 133, 151, 221.
 निर्देशे 94.
 निर्णेतु 41

निर्वृत्तौ 58.
 निर्वृण्यते 71.
 निरनुनासिकाः 93.
 निरस्तः 82.
 निवर्त्यन्ते 84.
 निवर्तकः 108.
 निवर्तकम् 195.
 निवर्तकत्वात् 195.
 निवर्तते 185.
 निवर्तते 76.
 निवर्तयति 108.
 निवर्तयन्ति 75.
 निवृत्तम् 83, 209, 211.
 निवृत्तिः 82, 92, 185, 195,
 233-235.
 निष्कारणः 22.
 निष्कृतम् 147.
 निष्पीडितम् 147.
 निहिता 35, 39.
 निहितानि 35.

नी. नु.

नीलः 16, 77.
 नु 92, 186.
 नुद 132.
 नुद्धिधिः 132.

नुम् 146.
 नुम्ग्रहणम् 146.
 नुम्भिः 134.
 नुमः 146.

नु. ने. नो. नौ.

नुनमतशब्दम् 135.
 नेटि 228, 229, 230.
 नो 134, 136.
 नौः 193, 194.

नौका 165.
 नौग्रहणम् 130.
 नौश्रात 117.

प्रकृत्य 179, 181.
 प्रकृतम् 115, 209, 216.
 प्रकृतापवादः 210.
 प्रकृतस्य 216.
 प्रकृतिः 112.
 प्रकृतिपाठे 187.
 प्रकृतिवत् 112.
 प्रकृन्तः 106, 220.
 प्रकृन्तिः 93, 97, 98.
 प्रकल्पन्ते 193.
 प्रकल्पयति 93.
 प्रकल्पयेत् 93.
 प्रकारैः 46.
 प्रगीतः 82.
 प्रगृह्यः 112.
 प्रगृह्यम् 112.
 प्रगृह्याः 166.
 प्रचलति 126.
 प्रचलन् 126.
 प्रज्ञानेन 39.
 प्रजल्पितः 54.
 प्रणयति 186.
 प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः 71.
 प्रत्यङ् 106, 117.
 प्रत्यभिवादे 31.
 प्रत्ययः 91, 149, 155, 173, 187.
 प्रत्ययाः 85, 86, 149.
 प्रत्ययेषु 85, 195.
 प्रत्ययवचम् 196.
 प्रत्ययौ 107.
 प्रत्याख्यानपक्षः 119.
 प्रत्याख्यायते 103, 119.
 प्रत्याख्यायेत् 115.
 प्रत्यापत्तिः 83, 89, 90.

प्रत्याख्यः 185.
 प्रत्याख्यन्ते 183.
 प्रत्याहारः 80.
 प्रत्याहारग्रहणानि 171.
 प्रत्याहारग्रहणे 170.
 प्रत्याहारार्थः 157.
 प्रत्याहारे 91, 157.
 प्रत्युदाहरणम् 73, 78.
 प्रत्युपदेशः 206.
 प्रत्युचम् 130.
 प्रत्येकम् 195, 196, 197.
 प्रत्येकग्रहणम् 195.
 प्रत्यम् 163.
 प्रति 153.
 प्रतिधातार्थम् 60.
 प्रतिद्वन्द्वि 52.
 प्रतिप्रणवम् 131.
 प्रतिपत्तव्याः 47.
 प्रतिपत्तिः 53, 54, 171.
 प्रतिपत्तुम् 137.
 प्रतिपत्तौ 46, 47.
 प्रतिपद्यन्ते 73, 78.
 प्रतिपद्यामहे 73.
 प्रतिपद्येरन् 47.
 प्रतिपदपाठः 46, 47.
 प्रतिपदोक्तानाम् 46.
 प्रतिमण्डितः 175.
 प्रतिवर्णम् 153.
 प्रतिशीलः 181.
 प्रतिष्ठिततमम् 41.
 प्रतिषिद्धे 229.
 प्रतिषिध्यते 228, 233.
 प्रतिषेध्यः 126.
 प्रतिषेध्यम् 141.

प्रतिषेधः 81, 84, 115, 126, 140,
 142, 144, 148, 162, 163,
 226, 229, 230, 232, 233.
 प्रतिषेधम् 224.
 प्रतिषेधवचनम् 162.
 प्रतिषेधाः 147.
 प्रतिषेधार्थः 162.
 प्रतिहन्तुम् 60.
 प्रतीतपदार्थकः 16, 189.
 प्रतीतपदार्थकयोः 189.
 प्रतीयन्ते 183.
 प्रयन्ते 54, 191.
 प्रथमाम् 98.
 प्रधानम् 22.
 प्रधाने 29.
 प्रपतनम् 76.
 प्रपञ्चगीतः 30.
 प्रपञ्चसूतः 186.
 प्रमाणम् 31, 58, 70.
 प्रमाणकाः 70.
 प्रमाणीकरणम् 185.
 प्रयत्नः 85, 88, 94.
 प्रयत्नम् 88.
 प्रयत्नाः 68.
 प्रयत्नेन 68, 186.
 प्रयत्नौ 94.
 प्रयाजाः 32.
 प्रयुक्तः 54.
 प्रयुक्तम् 106.
 प्रयुष्महि 26.
 प्रयुक्ते 25, 29, 54, 69, 110, 191.
 प्रयुयुक्षमाणः 58.
 प्रयुत्य 41.
 प्रयुत्यते 6.
 प्रयुत्यन्ते 63, 64.
 प्रयुज्यते 58, 59, 63, 65, 71.

प्रयुञ्जानः 61.
 प्रयुञ्जीत 110.
 प्रयोक्ष्ये 58.
 प्रयोक्तव्याः 187.
 प्रयोक्तव्ये 59, 66, 71.
 प्रयोगः 64, 66, 105.
 प्रयोगनियमः 187.
 प्रयोगनियमार्थम् 187.
 प्रयोगात् 61, 63.
 प्रयोगान्यत्वात् 63.
 प्रयोगे 62, 66, 168, 69.
 प्रयोगेण 102.
 प्रयोजनम् 43, 79, 83, 84, 87-
 91, 94, 105, 108, 112, 122,
 125, 127-129, 140, 144,
 146-148, 160, 168, 181,
 196-199, 201-205, 222, 223,
 230, 232.
 प्रयोजनानि 20, 25, 44, 49, 107.
 प्रयोजने 92.
 प्रलुप्य 136.
 प्रवक्ता 46.
 प्रवचनकालेन 47.
 प्रवर्त्यः 47.
 प्रवर्त्यम् 49.
 प्रविश्य 42.
 प्रवीणाः 68.
 प्रवृत्तः 76, 77.
 प्रवृत्तम् 50.
 प्रवृत्ताः 77.
 प्रवृत्तिः 60, 79, 91, 106, 107,
 122, 127, 128, 135.
 प्रस्थितनिर्देशः 222.
 प्रसक्तस्य 209.
 प्रसक्ता 195.
 प्रसङ्गः 224.

प्रसज्येत 123, 157, 167, 168,
171, 172, 179, 222.

प्रसारणे 115, 234.

प्रष्टव्यः 85, 235.

प्रस्कन्दनम् 76.

प्रहसितः 54.

प्राक् 97, 159.

प्राञ्चुखः 186.

प्राच्यः 65.

प्राच्येषु 65.

प्रातः 140.

प्रातिपदिकम् 91, 149, 152, 155.

प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा 152.

प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाम् 156.

प्रातिपदिकानि 86, 149.

प्रातिपदिकात् 152.

प्रातिपदिकेषु 85.

प्रादेशमात्रम् 130.

प्रादेशमात्रीः 130.

प्राधान्येन 49, 158.

प्राप्ताः 86.

प्राप्नुवन्ति 99, 152, 153, 206,
208.

प्राप्नोति 67, 73, 89, 94-96, 99,
113-115, 117, 122, 126,

127, 132, 134, 139-142,

144, 145, 148, 159, 168,
169, 173, 177-180, 200,
203, 206, 207, 209, 213-
218, 220, 225, 227-231,
233-235.

प्राप्नोतिः 29.

प्रायश्चित्तीयाः 41.

प्रायश्चित्तीयाम् 41.

प्रीणिताः 85.

प्रोक्तम् 74.

प्रोक्ताः 74.

प्रोक्तादयः 74-76.

प्रावाच 46.

पृक्षः 148.

पृक्षेभ्यः 219.

प्लुत्याद्यर्थः 105, 106.

प्लुत्यादयः 106, 113.

प्लुत्यादि 116.

प्लुत्यादिषु 117.

प्लुतः 92, 114, 117, 147, 159,
164, 165.

प्लुतसंज्ञा 117.

प्लुतानाम् 81.

प्लुतिः 106.

प्लुतिम् 31.

प्लुतौ 92, 136.

प.

पकवन्तः 63.

पक्षान्तरैः 108.

पक्षार्थे 136, 137.

पचन्ति 122.

पचन्तु 112.

पचेरन् 142.

पञ्च 44.

पञ्चनखाः 44.

पञ्चागमाः 173.

पठ्यते 144, 145.

पठ्यन्ते 85, 86.

पठति 105, 135, 223.

पठन्ति 24, 32, 41, 43, 217.
 पठितः 214.
 पठितम् 30, 75.
 पठितव्यम् 150.
 पठितव्याः 46, 181.
 पठितानि 48.
 पत्ने 37.
 पतितः 30, 109, 110.
 पदजातानि 33, 35.
 पदम् 152.
 पदशः 33.
 पदस्य 153, 176.
 पदसंज्ञा 152.
 पदान्तस्य 167, 168.
 पदान्तयोः 172.
 पदान्ताः 166.
 पदान्तात् 127.
 पदान्ताँ 172, 173.
 पदानि 35, 52, 73, 78, 187.
 पदार्थः 48, 51, 56, 72.
 पदार्थकः 110, 112.
 पदार्थम् 55, 58.
 पदार्थे 55.
 पन्थाः 208.
 पयः 110.
 पयोद्वतः 60.
 पर्यवेदिषुः 215, 220.
 पर्यायः 51-54.
 पर्युपयुक्तम् 47.
 परः 71, 124, 138, 140, 163,
 202.
 परत्र 29, 30.
 परम् 134, 147, 169, 192, 218.
 पररूपे 128.
 पररूपेण 204, 205, 207.
 परलोपस्य 128.

परशब्दः 218.
 परस्मैपदेषु 229.
 परस्य 122, 128, 160.
 परसवर्णः 140, 160.
 परसवर्णत्वम् 160.
 परसवर्णयोः 142.
 परसवर्णस्य 140, 142, 160.
 परसवर्णे 160.
 परामृताः 71.
 परावभृतः 25, 67.
 परामावात् 164-167.
 परिभाषया 217.
 परिभाषा 171.
 परिपवनम् 39.
 परिपालयिष्यति 21.
 परिभाषान्तरम् 217.
 परिममार्जतुः 226.
 परिममृजतुः 226.
 परिमार्जन्ति 226.
 परिमार्जन्तु 226.
 परिमृजापनुदोः 129, 205.
 परिमृजन्ति 226.
 परिमृजन्तु 226.
 परिवेशम् 142.
 परिवृद्धा 39.
 परिसमाप्यते 196.
 परिहारः 108, 130, 159.
 परिहारम् 156.
 परिहाराः 108.
 परिहारेण 185.
 परिहाय 171.
 परिहृतम् 78, 84, 99.
 परीक्षितम् 49.
 परे 164-167, 187.
 परेण 163-166, 169-171.
 परोच्चारिता 190, 191.

परोपदेशः 142.
 परोपदेशे 138, 142.
 पलालपिण्डः 181.
 पलाशः 86.
 पलायः 86.
 पवः 124, 202.
 पश्चात् 101.
 पश्य 149.

पश्यति 37, 54, 128, 162, 168,
 204, 205, 232.
 पश्यन् 37.
 पश्यामः 188.
 पशुः 61.
 पशुम् 122.
 पञ्चालाः 77.

पा.

पाठः 84.
 पाठात् 82.
 पाठे 83, 84.
 पाणिः 145.
 पाणिनिना 74.
 पाणिनीयम् 74.

पाणिनेः 50.
 पात्रम् 187.
 पादाः 33.
 पांसुभिः 71.
 पार्श्व 120.
 पास्त्यर्धेः 168.

पि.

पिण्डः 55, 56.
 पिण्डाकृतिम् 55.
 पित्रम् 136.
 पितरः 85.
 पिता 181.
 पिति 126.

पितृणाम् 133, 168, 169.
 पिप्पली 136.
 पिबतः 109.
 पिबति 109, 110.
 पिबेत् 30, 109, 110.

पी. पु.

पीतम् 30.
 पु 134.
 पुकि 221.
 पुगन्तः 221.
 पुगन्तस्य 217.
 पुगन्तलघूपधस्य 213, 214, 216, 221.
 पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणम् 216.
 पुगन्तलघूपधम् 222.
 पुगन्तलघूपधे 221.
 पुगन्ते 212, 213.
 पुगन्ताङ्गस्य 221.

पुण्यफलावाप्तिः 175
 पुत्रस्य 25, 41, 183.
 पुनः 20, 30, 39, 43, 46, 48-
 51, 53, 55-58, 66, 67, 70,
 71, 76, 77, 79, 82, 84, 88, 93,
 94, 97, 101, 102, 105, 106,
 111, 114, 125, 132, 133, 136,
 138, 142-144, 152, 170, 171,
 173, 178, 182, 183, 185, 186,
 194, 198-200, 206, 208, 212,
 229, 227, 229, 233, 234.

पुनन्तः 39.
 पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः 178, 180.
 पुंसु 146.
 पुमः 172.
 पुरस्तात् 75, 101.
 पुरा 43.

पुराणम् 65.
 पुरुषः 11, 46, 62, 139.
 पुरुषेण 22.
 पुरोहितम् 11.
 पुष्पितः 175.

पृ.

पूर्वः 122, 138, 140, 163, 218.
 पूर्वके 70.
 पूर्वग्रहणम् 132, 222.
 पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् 24.
 पूर्वपदलोपः 52.
 पूर्वपरयोः 122.
 पूर्वम् 69.
 पूर्वरूपे 229.
 पूर्वस्य 128, 160, 164.

पूर्वसूत्रे 174.
 पूर्वापेक्षः 214.
 पूर्वे 77.
 पूर्वेण 163-166, 169-171.
 पूर्वैः 192.
 पूर्वोक्तः 156.
 पूर्वोच्चारितः 190, 191.
 पूर्वोपदेशः 139, 141.
 पूर्वोपदेशे 139, 141.

पृ. पे.

पृथक्त्वम् 100.
 पृथक्त्वेषु 100, 102.
 पृथिवी 51.

पृथन्ति 24.
 पेच 61, 63.

फ. फि.

फलम् 68.
 फलवता 68.
 फलवन्तः 69.
 फलवान् 22.

फलात् 68.
 फलितः 175.
 फिञ् 178.
 फिडफिडौ 107.

ब्र.

ब्रह्म 66, 174.
 ब्रह्मराशिः 175.
 ब्राह्मण्या 106.
 ब्राह्मणः 11, 46, 60, 139.
 ब्राह्मणम् 30, 109.
 ब्राह्मणाः 142.

ब्राह्मणी 106, 112.
 ब्राह्मणाः 35, 43.
 ब्राह्मणेन 22, 23, 25.
 ब्रूमः 62, 90, 123.
 ब्रूयान् 127, 164, 165, 166, 169.

बद्धः 33.
बभूवुः 71.
बलवत्तरः 158.
बलीयः 94.
बहवः 29, 46, 67, 102.
बहिरङ्गम् 135.

बहिरङ्गा 135.
बहुधा 65.
बहुलम् 76.
बहुव्रीहिः 24.
बहुसूत्रम् 181.

बा. बि. बु. वृ. वै.

बाह्यः 88.
बाहुच्यम् 65.
बाहुः 174.
बिदः 82-84.

बुद्धिः 80, 81, 102.
बृहस्पतिः 46.
वैत्वः 60.

भ. म.

भ्रमति 229.
भ्रात्राः 30.
भः 145.
भक्तेः 134.
भक्ष्यः 44.
भक्ष्यम् 60.
भक्ष्याः 44.
भक्ष्यनियमः 44.
भक्ष्यनियमेन 44.
भक्षयति 52.
भकारः 172.
भकारस्य 171.
भकारपरः 172.
भकारपरयोः 171.
भगवतः 50.
भत्वात् 177.
भद्र 39.
भद्रम् 39.
भद्रहवः 140.

भव 98.
भवः 74.
भवत् 62.
भवतः 56, 66, 68, 78, 104,
117, 148, 195, 217.
भवता 155.
भवति 16, 22, 33, 39, 41, 46,
47, 55, 56, 60, 61, 65, 66,
68, 70, 71, 73, 76, 78, 83,
84, 91-95, 98, 100, 104,
108-110, 112, 113, 122,
126-130, 132-136, 144,
146-148, 150, 157-161,
163-165, 168, 170, 175-
177, 185, 187-189, 192-
195, 197, 199-201, 203-
206, 210, 215, 218-222,
225-230, 232, 235.

भवन्ति 43, 54, 69, 85, 88, 98, भविष्यति 54, 71, 77, 82, 90,
 108, 124, 130, 134, 148, 98, 99, 105, 127, 128, 158,
 154, 166, 177, 190, 191, 159, 162, 168, 177, 182,
 196, 201, 212, 229. 185, 204, 207, 216, 221,
 भवान् 61, 63, 90, 185, 231. 228, 230-232.
 भवितव्यम् 68, 100, 101, 154, भविष्यन्ति 111, 113, 132, 148.
 161, 190, 193. भवे 74-76.
 भवितुम् 30, 105, 155, 186, 223. भवेत् 99, 112, 159, 216.
 भविष्यत् 33. भसंज्ञा 177.
 भविष्यतः 93, 94, 173.

भा.

भामा 52. भावितग्रहणम् 178.
 भार्या 178, 180. भावेन 77.
 भाष्यन्ते 178, 193, 194. भावेषु 51, 54.
 भाष्यम् 100. भाषन्ते 65.
 भावः 127. भाषितः 65.
 भावाः 58. भासः 178, 179.
 भावात् 52, 107.

भि.

भिद्यते 192. भिज्याम् 83.
 भिद्येत 192. भिद्येयु 16.
 भिन्नः 88. भिन्नौ 94.
 भिन्नस्य 88. भिन्नसि 222.
 भिन्नाः 65. भिस्तः 127.

भु.

भुक्तम् 77. भुज्युञ्जी 145.
 भुङ्महे 104. भुजिः 196.
 भुञ्जते 142.

भृ.

भृत् 86, 118, 128, 129, 134, भृत्वा 43.
 146, 160, 168, 222, 224, भृतः 33.
 226, 227, 229-232. भृतम् 92.

भूम 25, 32, 41.
भूयः 25, 111, 188.
भूयसा 71.
भूयान् 29, 67.

भूयानः 29, 67.
भूयिष्ठः 155.
भूवन् 121, 201.

भृ, भे, भो.

भृगूणाम् 61.
भेदः 161.
भेदकत्वात् 198, 199.
भेदकाः 198, 200.

भेदात् 88, 91.
भोः 30, 51, 119, 194.
भोज्यन्ताम् 142, 196.
भोक्त्यामहे 80.

भृ.

भृगयति 208.
भृच्छः 25.

भृच्छितवै 25.

भ.

भकारेण 171.
भगधेषु 104.
भग्नलादीनि 54, 191.
भग्नलार्थम् 54, 191.
भग्नकः 86.
भग्नलम् 30.
भग्नकगतयः 209.
भग्नकाः 209.
भन्वा 48, 55, 58, 217.
भन्सरः 68.
भधुरायाम् 100, 104.
भध्येषु 65.
भधु 106, 111, 157, 233.
भन्वम् 61.
भन्वाः 22.
भन्दुरजः 205.
भन्यते 110, 156.
भन्यन्ते 107.

भन्यामहे 52, 100, 149, 150,
152, 154, 156.
भन्ये 30, 109, 110.
भनसः 35.
भनसा 39.
भनीषिणः 35.
भनुष्याः 33, 35.
भनुष्येषु 35.
भयद् 178.
भत्यान् 33.
भरणधर्माणः 33.
भवीत् 231.
भहः 33.
भहन् 30.
भहतः 47, 54, 115, 191.
भहता 33, 53, 186.
भहान् 33, 65, 138.
भहीयते 175.
भहोरस्केन 148.

मा.

मा 16, 25, 26, 28, 32, 41, 86,	मात्रिकः 207.
92, 118, 121, 128, 129, 134,	मात्रिकम् 137.
146, 160, 168, 196, 201,	मांसम् 131.
222, 224, 226, 227, 229-	मांसपिण्डः 190.
232.	मांसादिभिः 60.
माङ्गलिकः 54, 191.	मांसादीनि 60.
मातरः 142.	मांसपिण्डस्य 184, 190.
माण्डव्यः 215.	मार्गः 39.
माणवकः 16.	मार्जिः 195.
मातापितरौ 175, 183.	मार्ष्टि 218.
मातृणाम् 133, 168, 169.	माल्यगुणकण्डः 110.
मात्रम् 90.	मालीयः 178.
मात्रस्य 178.	मालर्ष्यः 123.
मात्रा 118.	मालाभिः 127.
मात्राः 170.	मालाढकम् 92.
मात्राकालः 137.	

मि. मु.

मिथ्याप्रयुक्तः 26.	मुखम् 151, 171.
मिद् 221.	मुखमुखार्थः 125, 202.
मिदिः 212-214, 221.	मुण्डी 199.
मिदेः 213, 214, 221.	मुहूर्तम् 229.

मृ.

मृगः 11, 46.	मृत् 55.
मृजिः 195, 212-214, 221.	मृदा 71.
मृजिप्रसङ्गे 195.	मृष्टः 224, 226.
मृजिवुद्धिः 195.	मृष्टवान् 224, 226.
मृत्युर्यम् 224, 225.	मृष्यताम् 191.
मृजेः 195, 213, 224-226.	

मे.

मे 66.	मेद्यति 218-220.
मेद्यतः 219, 220.	मेद्यन्ति 219, 220.

योः 170.

यः 25, 29-31, 33, 46, 52, 61,
67, 69, 71, 78, 90, 95, 105,
109, 110, 122, 125, 146,
147, 149, 155-157, 180, 200,
221.

यकारस्य 149.

यकारवक्त्राभ्याम् 140.

यङ्गतेन 22.

यङ्गदन्तः 183, 196.

यङ्गत्तम् 119.

यङ्गते 69, 109.

यङ्गमानम् 30.

यङ्गते 109.

यङ्गेरम् 142.

यङ्गाम् 171.

यङ्गि 171.

यङ्ग 157.

यङ्गः 93.

यङ्गम् 93.

यङ्गादिपरम् 222.

यङ्गाम् 234.

यन् 16, 25, 26, 35, 51, 57,
58, 60-63, 66, 70, 71, 75,
78, 83, 89, 91, 93, 97-100,
104, 110-112, 122, 127-
129, 131, 134, 135, 143,
155, 158, 162, 163, 168-
170, 180, 182, 183, 184,
186, 189, 200, 204-206, 213,
214, 218, 219, 222, 232,
233.

यन्तः 22, 58, 60, 92, 192.

यन्तम् 58, 170, 201.

यन्तात् 210.

यन्तार्हम् 192.

यन्तेन 47, 84.

यन्त्र 39, 94, 98, 103, 123, 131,
137, 170, 174, 189, 196,
221, 228, 233.

यन्तः 155.

यन्त्रा 66.

यथा 16, 26, 29, 33, 44, 46,
48, 51, 52, 54, 58, 59, 61,
63, 67, 69, 70, 76, 77, 83-
85, 87, 88, 91, 93, 98, 99,
101, 103, 106, 108, 109,
112, 122, 126, 128, 130-
133, 138, 139, 142, 144,
146, 148, 151, 152, 154,
155, 159-161, 177, 181-
183, 186, 187, 190-194,
196, 197, 199-201, 204,
205, 209, 210, 214, 215,
220, 222, 224, 227, 235.

यथाजातीयकः 123.

यथाजातीयकम् 122.

यथान्यासम् 116, 140, 185.

यथायथम् 22.

यथावत् 29.

यदच्छया 106.

यदच्छायाः 105, 106.

यदच्छाशब्दः 107.

यदच्छाशब्दाः 106, 107.

यद्वातः 71.

यन्नि 92.

यमः 143, 163.

यमाम् 161, 171.

यमि 161, 167, 171.

यम्यहणेन 160.

यया 183.

ययि 140.

यय्यहणेन 160.

यय्यणः 71.

ययः 117, 140, 148, 163.

यय्योकम् 93, 137, 160.

ययः 124, 202.

यय्यगुः 51.

यय्यगुवतः 60.

यय्यान् 124, 202.

यय्यिन् 53, 57, 180.

यय्यै 193.

यय्य 42, 72, 92, 94, 118, 132,

133, 135-137, 178, 180, 206.

यय्याः 24.

या.

या 179.

यात्रिकाः 24, 32, 41, 64, 183.

यात्रे 71.

याता 85, 127, 203, 213, 234,
235.

याथातथ्यम् 71.

यान्तानाम् 232.

यानि 86, 171.

यावत् 159.

यावता 51, 54, 160, 221, 224.

यावद्भार्यः 178, 180.

यु.

युक्तः 56, 59, 218, 219.

युक्तम् 55, 93.

युक्ता 55.

युगपत् 91, 99, 100, 102.

युज्यते 69, 109.

युज्यन्ते 155.

युज्येत 68.

युवा 199.

यू.

यूपः 60, 61, 155, 183.

यूपस्य 155, 156.

यूपायः 149, 155, 156.

यूपे 149, 155, 156.

यूयम् 63.

ये, यो.

ये 31, 35, 58, 66, 68, 94, 104,

131, 134, 178, 183, 208.

येन 16, 47, 71.

येनाम् 88, 152, 173.

येषु 63.

योक्तव्यन्ते 68.

योगः 71, 74, 159, 218, 219, 220.

योगयोः 163.

योगविभागः 122, 134, 136, 159,

222, 226.

योगविभागम् 127.

योगविभागात् 225.

योताः 235.

योगौ 235.

र.

रः 114, 133, 167.
रक्षा 21.
रक्षार्थम् 21.
रत्नेन 140.
रत्नातुः 142.
रत्नः 166.
रत्नत्वम् 167, 168.
रत्नत्वे 168, 230.

रत्ने 234, 235.
रत्नः 139, 141.
रत्नप्रतिषेधात् 115.
रत्नतेः 133.
रत्नभ्याम् 133, 134.
रत्नतिः 65.
रत्नभ्याम् 162.
रत्नौ 142.

रा. रि.

राजः 113, 114, 218.
राजकीयम् 113, 114, 218.
राजन्यः 60.

राजानः 196.
राजायनीयाः 119.
रि 167.

रु. रू.

रुः 172.
रुचकाः 55, 56.
रुदिहि 139.
रुपम् 104, 122, 128, 144, 145.

204, 205.
रुपग्रहणम् 122.
रुपसिद्धिः 145.

रे.

रेफः 144, 140.
रेफस्य 140, 142.
रेफयोः 167.
रेफात् 134.
रेफे 142.

रेफोष्मणाम् 142.
रेवत्याम् 66.
रेवती 66.
रेवत् 66.

रो. रौ.

रोः 144, 133, 139.
रोमशः 82.

रोरवीति 33.
रौतिः 33.

रु.

रुद 75.
रुटः 75.
रुदधेः 74, 75.

रुन्तम् 231.
रुन्तस्य 230, 231.

ल.

- लः 114, 133.
लक्ष्मीः 39.
लक्ष्यः 76.
लक्ष्यते 68, 107, 158.
लक्ष्यम् 76.
लक्षणम् 47, 49, 50, 76, 96, 99, 229.
लक्षणत्वे 64.
लक्षणपात् 39.
लक्षणे 76.
लक्ष्यर्थम् 174, 189.
लक्ष्मी 221.
लक्ष्मीयसा 170.
लक्ष्मीपात् 46.
लघुः 21, 23, 189.
लघुना 23.
लघुत्वात् 46.
लघुपचस्य 217, 221.
लघुपचा 221.
लघुपचे 212, 213.
लघोः 232, 233.
लङ् 178.
लट् 115.
लण् 163.
लत्वम् 105, 106, 111.
लभ्यम् 84, 85.
लवः 124, 202.
लवनम् 218, 220.
लवनाद्यै 65.
लविता 154.
लवितुम् 154.
लव्यतिः 133.

ला, लि, लु.

- लाङ्लः 16.
लादेशः 132.
लादेशे 133.
लावकः 218, 220.
लिङ्गम् 83, 97, 98, 184.
लिङ्गे 22.
लिङ्गेन 185, 188.
लिटि 213.
लुप्तनिर्दिष्टः 231.

लो.

- लोकः 63, 68.
लोकतः 58, 98, 99.
लोकाः 65.
लोकात् 43, 192.
लोके 16, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 66, 89, 93, 98, 107, 109, 120, 175, 181, 183, 184, 186, 189, 190, 193, 199.
लोपः 21, 83, 113, 114, 127, 128, 142, 154, 158, 161, 163, 167, 168, 171, 185, 227.
लोपापवादः 162.
लोपे 128, 162, 163.
लोपेन 161.
लोमनखम् 131.

लौ.

लौकिकः 59, 108.
लौकिकाः 11, 43.
लौकिकानाम् 11.

लौकिके 182.
लौकिकेषु 109, 183.

व.

व्यञ्जनम् 82, 137.
व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम् 203.
व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थेन 205.
व्यञ्जनस्य 203, 205-207, 228.
व्यत्ययः 153, 154.
व्यतिरेकः 68.
व्यतिरेच्यः 68.
व्यपदेशिचत् 77.
व्यपचर्माः 131.
व्यपवृक्तम् 131.
व्यपवृक्ताः 134.
व्यलोपवचनम् 141, 142.
व्यवहितत्वात् 134.
व्यवायात् 100.
व्यवाये 134, 135.
व्यवायेन 100.
व्यवहरति 64.
व्यवहारकाले 29.

व्यवहारकालेन 47.
व्याक्रियन्ते 74, 76.
व्याकरणम् 21-26, 28, 32, 33,
37, 41-43, 72, 74, 76.
व्याकरणस्य 72.
व्याकरणात् 73.
व्याकरणे 72, 74, 77, 186, 191.
व्याख्यानतः 53, 54, 73, 78, 171,
201.
व्याख्यानम् 73, 78.
व्याख्यास्यामः 53, 171, 201.
व्याचक्षाणाः 183.
व्युपधात् 139, 141, 142.
व्युदोरस्केन 148.
व्योः 142.
वतम् 60.
वतयितुम् 60.

व.

वः 66.
वक्ष्यति 88, 94, 115, 156, 160,
210, 224.
वक्ष्यामि 83, 115, 127, 145, 184,
231.
वक्तव्यः 81, 140, 142, 162, 163,
182, 183, 185, 207, 215, 232.
वक्तव्यम् 83, 92, 118, 129, 132,
133, 136, 138, 139, 145,
160, 185, 195, 197, 198,
208, 213, 231, 232.
वक्तव्या 185.
वक्तुम् 137.
वकारः 43, 231.
वकारोपाये 150.
वचनम् 90, 195, 233, 234.
वचनात् 159, 214, 235.
वचने 23, 89, 91, 92, 127.

वचनेन 197.
 वचिस्वपियजादीनाम् 234.
 वत्सः 199.
 वदन्ति 35.
 वदेत् 32.
 वनम् 140, 153.
 वयम् 70, 90, 123.
 वर्णदेन 53.
 वर्णः 21, 86, 126, 153, 154.
 वर्णग्रहणेन 134.
 वर्णतः 26.
 वर्णम् 153, 174.
 वर्णयितुम् 54.
 वर्णव्यत्ययः 154.
 वर्णव्यत्ययकृतम् 155.
 वर्णव्यत्यये 146, 154, 155.
 वर्णविकारः 154.
 वर्णस्य 176.
 वर्णाः 80, 81, 101, 134, 138,
 149, 150, 152-155.
 वर्णान्तरम् 125.
 वर्णान् 80.
 वर्णानुपलब्धौ 150.

वर्णानाम् 79, 80, 105, 155, 156.
 वर्णोपायः 154.
 वर्णेन 186.
 वर्णेषु 125, 154.
 वर्णैः 101.
 वर्णैकदेशाः 125, 134.
 वर्णोत्सर्गौ 171.
 वर्णोपजनः 154.
 वर्त्मा 65.
 वर्पति 163.
 वर्षशतम् 46.
 वर्षसहस्रम् 46.
 ब्रह्मति 194.
 ब्रह्मन्ति 143.
 बरुण 25, 42.
 बलाद्विलक्षणः 139.
 बलि 142.
 वर्तते 35, 51, 54, 77, 163, 174.
 वर्तन्ते 77, 155, 156.
 वर्तमानाः 33.
 वर्षणात् 33.
 वसुमती 65.

वा.

वा 24, 25, 29, 30, 33, 35, 39,
 41, 44, 49, 58, 60, 61, 79,
 90, 92, 94, 99, 104, 105,
 109, 110, 115, 116, 118, 120,
 125-127, 138, 140, 155, 156,
 159, 163-166, 173, 180, 184,
 185, 188, 192, 194, 206, 212,
 221, 223, 226, 228.
 वाक् 37.
 वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः 196.
 वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः 196.

वाक्यपरिमिता 35.
 वाक्यम् 212.
 वाक्याध्याहारः 73, 78.
 वाक्यानि 85, 181.
 वाक्समाज्ञायः 175.
 वाकोवाक्यम् 65.
 वाग्योगवित् 29, 30.
 वाग्वज्रः 26.
 वाग्विदे 37.
 वाग्विषयः 39, 174.
 वाचः 35, 129.

वाचम् 33, 37, 39.
 वाचा 129.
 वाता 127, 203, 213, 234, 235.
 वायवः 215.
 वायवे 215.
 वायुः 32.

वायुम् 52.
 वायो 126, 215.
 वार्षसहस्रिकाणि 64.
 वारयति 162.
 वारुणीम् 34.

वि.

विक्रीयते 131.
 विक्रेतव्यम् 131.
 विकसितः 39.
 विकारः 65, 88, 154.
 विकारणः 21.
 विकाराः 85, 86, 164.
 विकारि 57.
 विकारिभिः 101.
 विकारेषु 85, 153, 154.
 विहृतम् 113.
 विहृतस्य 113.
 विग्रहः 55, 56, 58.
 विग्रहीतम् 73, 78.
 विचार्यते 116, 125, 140, 143.
 विचारणा 125, 126.
 विज्ञातम् 23, 41, 80, 137, 168.
 विज्ञानम् 30.
 विज्ञायते 141, 162, 179, 180,
 210, 221.
 विज्ञेयम् 110, 179, 222.
 विद्धम् 122.
 विदधाति 33.
 विदध्यात् 41.
 विदितः 71.
 विदुः 31, 35.
 विद्या 46.
 विद्यात् 173.
 विधया 139, 148, 208, 212.

विधाने 208.
 विधिः 117, 126, 127, 130, 136,
 178, 179, 206.
 विधीयते 75, 145.
 विधीयन्ते 208.
 विधेः 206.
 विधेयः 139.
 विधेयम् 139.
 विनामेषु 132.
 विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिम्यः 43.
 विप्रतिषिद्धम् 61.
 विप्रतिषेधः 218, 219.
 विप्रतिषेधात् 220.
 विप्रतिषेधे 218.
 विप्रतिषेधेन 217, 218.
 विप्रोष्य 32.
 विपरिणमयितव्याः 22.
 विपरिणमयितुम् 22.
 विपरीतात् 39.
 विमक्तयः 33, 42.
 विमक्तिनिर्देशे 170.
 विमक्तिभिः 22.
 विमक्तिम् 25, 32.
 विभाषा 161-163, 167, 226.
 विभाषाम् 127.
 विचारम् 88, 91.
 विचारभिन्नः 88.
 विवृणुते 37.

विवृणुयात् ३७.
 विवृतः ८७-९०, ९२.
 विवृततरम् १३१.
 विवृततरे १३१.
 विवृतस्य ८८-९०.
 विवृतौ ९३.
 विश्वसृजः १०९.
 विशेष्यते ८४, १४७.
 विशेष्यस्य १८८.
 विशेषः ५३, ५४, ६७, ९०, ९२, १०५,
 ११६, १२६, १३८, १४०, १७१,
 २१२, २२३, २२८.
 विशेषणस्य १८८.
 विशेषयितुम् २२१.
 विशेषयिष्यामः १४७, २२१.
 विशेषणविशेष्यभावः १८९.
 विशेषणविशेष्ये १८९.

विशेषवत् ४७.
 विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः २०१.
 विशेषे २९.
 विशेषेण ४८, १०५, २२३.
 विष्णुमित्र १९६.
 विषमः ३०, ९३, १०२, १०९, १३०.
 विषयः ६५, १०५.
 विषयार्थम् २३४.
 विषये ९७.
 विषयेण ९७.
 विषाणम् १६.
 विसर्जनीयः १४३, १४६, १४७.
 विसर्जनीयस्य १४६-१४८.
 विसर्जनीयम् १४७.
 विसर्गे ३७.
 विहन्यते ५७.

वी.

वीतये ११.

वीरपुरुषकाणि ५४, १९१.

वृ.

वृक्षः १२६, १४८, १५०.
 वृक्षाम्याम् ९२.
 वृक्षेभ्यः २१९.
 वृक्षये ७९.
 वृक्षान्तशः ४३.
 वृक्षिः ७९, ८०.
 वृद्धः १९९.
 वृद्धलक्षणः १७८.
 वृद्धपादयः १८१.
 वृद्धपादिषु १९३.
 वृद्धपादीनाम् १८१.
 वृद्धिः ७३, ७८, १२१, १३५, १७६-
 १७९, १८३, १९१, २०९, २१०.

२१३, २२१, २२४, २३०, २३२,
 २३३.
 वृद्धिग्रहणम् २२३, २२४, २२९.
 वृद्धिग्रहणस्य २२३.
 वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः १९५, १९६.
 वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञौ १९५.
 वृद्धिगुणौ २१२, २१३.
 वृद्धिनिमित्तम् १८०.
 वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य १७८, १८०.
 वृद्धिप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः २२५.
 वृद्धिम् २२६.
 वृद्धियुकाः १९१.
 वृद्धिविधौ २२३.

वृद्धिशब्दः 182, 183, 190.
 वृद्धिशब्दम् 191.
 वृद्धिशब्दस्य 188.
 वृद्धिशब्दात् 187.
 वृद्धिशब्दे 184.

वृद्धिसंज्ञा 209.
 वृद्धेः 180, 224, 226, 229.
 वृद्धौ 228.
 वृद्धिः 187.
 वृषभः 33.

वे.

वेद्याम् 130, 131.
 वेदः 22, 65, 69.
 वेदम् 43.
 वेदयते 67.
 वेदशब्दाः 69.
 वेदशब्देन 69.
 वेदात् 43.

वेदान् 21.
 वेदानाम् 21.
 वेदितव्यः 175.
 वेदितव्यम् 6.
 वेदितव्याः 71.
 वेदे 59, 60, 66, 93, 109, 120,
 183.

वै, वं.

वै 30, 61, 68, 185.
 वैदिकाः 11, 43.
 वैदिकानाम् 11.
 वैदिके 182.
 वैदिकेषु 59, 108, 109, 183.
 वैद्यकम् 65.

वैयाकरणः 58, 76.
 वैयाकरणाः 39, 226.
 वैश्यः 60.
 वैष्णव्यात् 173.
 वंशस्तम्बात् 115.

वृ.

वृक्षः 145.
 वृक्षानां 145.
 वृषणम् 123, 167.
 वृत्त्यम् 66.
 वृत्ते 46, 71, 231.
 वृत्तन्ते 143.
 वृत्तेरन् 85.
 वृत्तम् 33.

वृक्षाणि 33.
 वृष्यन् 37.
 वृष्योति 37.
 वृष्यम् 102.
 वृष्योक्तः 30.
 वृष्या 60.
 वृष्यादीनाम् 115.
 वृष्यतः 85.

श.

- शक्नोति 22.
 शक्यः 97, 168.
 शक्यते 137.
 शक्यम् 60, 61, 101, 137, 146, 153, 171.
 शक्या 23, 32, 41, 80.
 शक्यामि 54.
 शकटम् 194.
 शकुनयः 101.
 शकुनिः 11, 46.
 शकुनिवत् 101.
 शच्छोऽद्रि 138.
 शतम् 83, 152, 196.
 शब्दः 6, 11, 16, 25, 26, 44, 49, 51, 54, 58, 63, 66, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76-78, 100, 102, 108, 110-112, 189, 190.
 शब्दकर्मा 33.
 शब्दकारी 16.
 शब्दज्ञाने 29, 67.
 शब्दप्रयोगे 58.
 शब्दपारायणम् 46.
 शब्दम् 16, 33, 108.
 शब्दस्य 46, 63, 66, 67, 165.
 शब्दाः 28, 29, 43, 46, 47, 61, 63, 64, 65-67, 74, 76, 77, 101, 181, 194, 195.
 शब्दात्मानौ 33.
 शब्दान् 26, 29, 43, 58, 59, 63, 67-70, 73, 78.
 शब्दानुशासनम् 6, 44.
 शब्दानुशासनस्य 20, 25.
 शब्दानाम् 11, 46, 47, 61-63, 73, 106, 107, 181.
 शब्दार्थः 106.
 शब्दे 51, 55, 56, 58, 74, 75, 184.
 शब्देन 61, 74.
 शब्देषु 101, 194.
 शब्दैः 76.
 शब्दोपदेशः 44, 46.
 शब्दोपदेशे 46.
 शब्दौघान् 47.
 शम् 43.
 शर्च्यवाये 146.
 शर्षु 144.
 शरणम् 30.
 शरः 162.
 शल्यकवत् 97.
 शलः 139.
 शचः 65.
 शचतिः 65.
 शशः 86.

शा.

- शाटकान् 103.
 शालयुतायानिः 178.
 शालमयम् 178.
 शालिमांसादीन् 60.
 शालीन् 104.
 शालीयः 178.
 शास्त्रपूर्वकम् 69.
 शास्त्रपूर्वके 69.
 शास्त्रम् 6, 43, 79, 107, 108, 195.

शास्त्राणि 54, 191.

शास्त्रि 89, 122, 127, 162, 205,
233.

शास्त्रविद् 62.

शास्त्रान्वितः 66.

शास्त्रे 186.

शास्त्रेण 58, 62, 64.

शास्त्रेणस्य 54, 191.

शि. शी.

शिक्षी 98, 199.

शिष्टः 108.

शिष्टस्य 109.

शिरसि 33.

शिक्षाविभ्यः 97.

शीतम् 199.

शीर्षे 33.

शु.

शुक्रम 119, 229.

शुद्धः 16, 77, 200.

शुद्धम् 200.

शुद्धाम् 181.

शुचौ 186.

शुद्धः 207.

शुद्धाः 85.

शुद्धानि 86.

शुद्धेयः 28.

शै. शो.

शैली 158.

शोभनाम् 42.

प. प.

पत्र 96, 129.

पङ्क्तः 22.

पङ्क्तेशु 22.

पङ्क्तपूपाः 181.

पत्रम् 144, 146, 147.

पङ्क्त्यर्थः 72, 77.

पङ्क्त्यधिकारम् 235.

पङ्क्त्यधिकारे 235.

पङ्क्ताः 233.

पङ्क्ती 113, 114, 188, 213, 214,
221.

पङ्क्तीनिर्दिष्टस्य 114, 188.

पङ्क्तीसमाप्तः 231.

पत्रः 86.

स.

स्रीवत् 32.

स्रीपु 32, 60.

स्तः 93, 119, 172, 173.

स्तम्बम् 110.

स्तवः 124, 202.

स्तोः 145.

स्थलम् 194.

स्थले 194.

स्थानम् 94.	135, 138, 139, 144, 146,
स्थानकरणे 43.	150, 155-157, 160-170, 181,
स्थानतः 94.	187, 189, 192, 197-202,
स्थानपट्टी 213, 214.	204, 205, 212, 216-218,
स्थानितः 219.	220, 222, 224, 227, 232-
स्थानिनाम् 121, 124, 201.	234.
स्थानिनिर्देशार्थम् 223.	स्थाताम् 94, 119, 172, 308, 219.
स्थानिनौ 219.	स्थाम् 33, 42.
स्थानिवद्भावाः 147.	स्युः 54, 61, 101, 102, 106,
स्थानिवद्भावस्य 148.	139, 159, 163, 188, 191.
स्थानिवद्भावात् 128, 148.	सुप्ते 100.
स्थानी 93, 219, 221, 223.	सुभावातः 185.
स्थाने 94, 167.	स्यम् 185.
स्थानेयोगत्वात् 233.	सर्गम् 30.
स्थानेषु 33.	सर्गे 66, 175.
स्थूलपृष्ठी 24.	सर्नयति 140.
स्थूला 24.	स्वपिहि 139.
स्थूलानि 24.	स्वम् 199.
ज्ञातानुलिप्तः 110.	स्वरः 86.
ज्ञिहित्वा 139.	स्वरतः 24, 26.
ज्ञेहित्वा 139.	स्वरजः 33.
स्पर्शनम् 99.	स्वरस्य 198.
स्पृष्टा 131.	स्वरितस्य 198.
स्पृष्टः 183.	स्वरिताः 106.
स्फैयकृतस्य 181.	स्वरितादेः 200.
स्फोटप्रानम् 133.	स्वरितान्तात् 200.
स 43, 186.	स्वरूपम् 44.
स्यात् 30, 44, 47, 49, 53, 54,	स्वस्तिकाः 56.
60, 62, 68, 75, 83, 84, 88,	स्वात्मानम् 37.
89, 91, 92, 97, 98, 101,	स्वादि 152.
109, 110, 112, 118, 122,	स्वाध्यायकालेन 47.
124-126, 128, 129, 132,	स्वाभाविकम् 155.

- सः 16, 29, 30, 33, 46, 69, 71,
 80, 90, 92, 105, 107, 109,
 110, 115, 122, 124, 126,
 138, 149-151, 156, 161-163,
 167, 168, 170, 175, 177,
 180, 189, 202, 206, 208,
 214-217, 219, 222, 224.
 सक्तुः 39.
 सक्तुम् 25, 39.
 सक्त्यनि 192.
 सक्त्यि 200.
 सक्कारेण 149, 150.
 सकारः 147.
 सकारस्य 147, 156.
 सकारोपजने 149.
 सक्तु 138.
 सक्त्यानि 39.
 सक्तायः 39.
 सक्त्ये 49.
 सक्तेः 39.
 सत् 137.
 सत्ताणि 109.
 सत्यदेवः 42.
 सत्यदेवाः 42.
 सत्यमामा 52.
 सत्यम् 88.
 सत्याम् 228.
 सत्वम् 148.
 सत्वेन 45.
 सतः 93, 190, 193.
 सताम् 193, 194.
 सति 46, 92, 122, 161, 170,
 179, 197, 219, 222, 226.
 सन् 115.
 सन्तः 39.
 सन्तापयति 61.
 सन्ति 52, 61, 63, 93, 97, 108,
 142, 164-167, 173, 205.
 सन्तु 118, 171, 173.
 सन्देहः 24, 163-166, 169, 189,
 201.
 सन्देहमात्रम् 201.
 सन्देहाः 76.
 सन्देहात् 53, 54, 171, 201.
 सन्देहेषु 201.
 सन्निपाते 146.
 सन्निवेशः 80.
 सन्त 33, 42, 66.
 सतदश 98, 130.
 सतदशत्वम् 98.
 सतद्वीपा 65.
 सम्प्रत्ययः 16.
 सम्बन्धम् 209.
 सम्बन्धे 51, 55.
 सम्यक् 22, 66.
 समर्थः 152.
 समर्थम् 152.
 समर्थाः 152.
 समवस्थानम् 91.
 समवस्थितयोः 219.
 समवायः 79, 80.
 समानः 60, 126.
 समानपदे 133, 134, 138.
 समानम् 155.
 समानाकृतयः 125.
 समानाक्षरे 189.
 समानायाम् 61.
 समाने 108.

समानाधिक्योः 91.
 समानाधिक्य 90.
 समानाधिक्ये 91, 92.
 समानाये 95.
 समाहारवर्णो 118.
 समानान्तोदात्तत्वम् 24.
 समिधः 130.
 समुद्रः 145.
 समुद्रतः 145.
 समुदायाः 126, 252.
 समुदायानाम् 83, 84.
 समुदाये 76, 77, 126, 196.
 समुदायेषु 77.
 समुदितम् 73, 76, 78.
 समुदायस्य 126.
 सस्यन्ता 93, 137.
 सर्पिःषु 146.
 सर्पीणि 146.
 सर्वः 68, 92, 178, 179.
 सर्वकारकः 179.
 सर्वत 56, 214, 191, 195, 221,
 223.
 सर्वथा 46.
 सर्वभासः 178, 179.
 सर्वम् 81, 103, 178, 179.
 सर्ववेदपुण्यफलावाप्तिः 175.
 सर्वस्य 128.
 सर्वसन्देशेषु 201.
 सर्वादेशः 213, 214.

सर्वादेशसङ्गः 213, 214.
 सर्वाभिः 22.
 सर्वे 64, 76, 99, 138.
 सर्वेषाम् 130, 233, 234, 235.
 सर्वैः 22, 155.
 सर्वपाः 131.
 सर्वन् 173.
 सरः 173.
 सरहस्याः 65.
 सरूपाणाम् 48.
 सस्यन्तसरः 93, 137, 160.
 सवकारेण 150.
 सवर्णः 87, 88, 90, 91, 94, 101.
 सवर्णम् 88, 171.
 सवर्णस्य 169.
 सवर्णोः 142.
 सवर्णान् 103, 137.
 सवर्णानाम् 94, 197.
 सवर्णार्थम् 197.
 सवर्णो 56, 91, 103, 122, 126,
 162, 169.
 सस्थानत्वात् 119.
 सस्थानतरो 119.
 सविभक्तिकाः 32.
 सह 86, 126, 196.
 सहग्रहणम् 196, 197.
 सहभूतानाम् 196, 197.
 सहवचनात् 196.
 सहचम् 65, 99.

सा-

सा 16, 24, 42, 83, 115, 183,
 224, 227, 229.
 सात्यमुद्रिः 119.
 साध्यः 52.
 साध्यम् 226.
 साध्ये 226.
 साक्षाः 65.
 साध्यनुशासने 186.

साधवः 61.
 सार्धयः 68, 150, 156.
 साधुः 62, 107, 109, 195.
 साधुत्वम् 61, 83, 84, 186, 187.
 साधुनामिकाः 93.
 साम्यम् 33.
 सामर्थ्यात् 127, 128, 164-166,
 169, 204, 208.
 सामवेदः 65.
 सामान्यम् 47.
 सामान्यभूतम् 16.

सामान्यात् 104.
 सामान्येन 48.
 सामानाधिकरण्यम् 188.
 सामिधेन्यः 98, 130.
 सार्वधातुकम् 221.
 सार्वधातुकस्य 234, 235.
 सार्वधातुके 215.
 सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः 215-217.
 सारस्वतीम् 25, 41.
 सावकारयोः 219.
 सास्ना 16.

सि.

सिकाः 85.
 सिकता 152, 154.
 सिचि 189, 227, 229, 230, 232.
 सिद्धर्थम् 227, 229.
 सिद्धः 51, 52, 144, 148, 184.
 सिद्धत्वम् 160.
 सिद्धत्वात् 106.
 सिद्धम् 51, 81, 84, 95, 97-99,
 103, 104, 106, 119, 122,
 128, 132-134, 140, 144-148,
 160, 194, 195, 204, 205,
 222, 225, 235.
 सिद्धशब्दः 52, 54.

सिद्धशब्दम् 54.
 सिद्धशब्दस्य 51.
 सिद्धा 13, 51.
 सिद्धार्थोः 54.
 सिद्धे 51, 55, 56, 58, 122, 170,
 206, 222.
 सिध्यति 84, 115, 117, 134, 136,
 183, 206.
 सिध्यन्ति 106.
 सिन्धवः 42.
 सिंहः 154.
 सिस्निहिपति 139.
 सिस्तेहिपति 139.

सु.

सुकतः 215.
 सुकृति 215.
 सुकृतौ 215.
 सुकृते 110, 229.
 सुतम् 119, 229.
 सुदेवः 26, 42.
 सुप्रयुक्तः 66.
 सुपा 196.
 सुवभावः 153.
 सुवन्तम् 152.

सुवृत्तपतिः 153.
 सुराम् 30, 109.
 सुराष्ट्रेषु 65.
 सुवर्णम् 55, 56.
 सुवासाः 37.
 सुधुत् 215.
 सुपियम् 42.
 सुपुमा 177.
 सुहृत् 43.

सू.

सूकरः 59.
सूत्रम् 78.
सूत्रकम् 194.
सूत्रतः 73, 78.
सूत्रम् 72, 75, 77, 185.
सूत्रमेवेन 115.
सूत्रात् 72.
सूत्राणि 48, 75, 76, 177, 186.

सूत्रे 72, 74, 77.
सूत्रेण 74, 186.
सूत्रे 119.
सूत्रः 51, 149, 155.
सूत्रस्य 155, 156.
सूत्रार्थः 149, 155, 156.
सूत्रे 149, 155, 156.
सूत्र्यम् 42.

सो, सौ.

सोमसुत् 215.
सोमसुतः 215.

सोमसुते 215.
सौधुतः 215.

सं.

सङ्करः 95, 97.
सङ्ख्यानात् 98.
सङ्ग्रहे 52.
सङ्घातः 151, 152, 155.
सङ्घातस्य 153.
सङ्घाताः 152.
सङ्घातान्तराणि 155, 156.
सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वात् 156.
सङ्ग्रहमे 226.
सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः 173.
सङ्ख्यधरस्य 228.
सङ्घातासु 71.
संज्ञया 193, 194, 208.
संज्ञा 83, 88, 97, 98, 112, 174,
181-185, 189-192, 194.
संज्ञाकरणम् 189.
संज्ञादिषु 107.
संज्ञाधिकारः 181, 182, 185, 192.

संज्ञाधिकारे 181-183.
संज्ञाभावात् 193.
संज्ञासु 183.
संज्ञायाः 196.
संज्ञायाम् 97.
संज्ञालिङ्गम् 185.
संज्ञाविधौ 124.
संज्ञाश्रये 193.
संज्ञासंज्ञिनोः 182, 184, 186, 188.
संज्ञायाः 185.
संज्ञासंज्ञिनौ 186, 189.
संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः 181, 186.
संज्ञासिद्धिः 182.
संज्ञी 182, 183, 189-191.
संज्ञिनः 182-184, 190, 193.
संज्ञिनम् 185.
संज्ञिनि 193.
सन्दिग्धम् 163.

सन्धिः 116, 117.
 सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थम् 203.
 सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थेन 204.
 सन्ध्यक्षरम् 228.
 सन्ध्यक्षरस्य 203, 204, 206.
 सन्ध्यक्षरे 126.
 सन्ध्यक्षरेषु 131.
 सन्ध्यक्षयः 181, 192.
 सम्प्रति 192, 193.
 सम्प्रत्ययार्थः 182.
 सम्प्रसारणस्य 123.
 सम्प्रज्ञाः 99.
 सम्भवः 219.
 सम्भावि 99.
 सम्बन्धः 58.
 सम्बन्धे 51, 55, 56, 58.

संसृष्ट 170.
 संयोगः 147, 163.
 संयोगसंज्ञा 147.
 संयोगादयः 144.
 संयोगे 136, 147.
 संयोगोत्पत्तौ 129.
 संवृतः 82, 85, 90, 92, 93.
 संवृतता 89.
 संवृतस्य 88, 90.
 संवृतादीनाम् 84.
 संवृते 183.
 संवृत्तौ 92, 93.
 संस्कारोत्तरकालम् 43.
 संस्कृत्य 187.
 संवृतादीनाम् 81.

ह.

ह्रस्वः 117, 126, 159, 164, 165.
 ह्रस्वस्य 115, 126, 215.
 ह्रस्वात् 172.
 ह्रस्वाद्योः 216, 221.
 ह्रस्वादीनाम् 159.

ह्रस्वादेशाशसनेषु 118.
 ह्रस्वादेशे 118.
 ह्रस्वादौ 215.
 ह्रस्वाग्रयः 126, 127.

ह.

ह 25.
 हकारः 138.
 हकारग्रहणम् 139.
 हकारे 138, 139.
 ह्यग्रहणम् 138.
 हतः 109, 154.
 हन्ति 109.
 हन्यात् 30, 109.
 हन्मतिः 65.

हयवरद 138.
 हर्ता 163.
 हर्तृ 166, 235.
 हर्षार्थम् 167.
 हरयवद 140.
 हल् 103.
 हल्यु 158.
 हलः 122, 147, 158, 161, 167, 171.

हलन्तलक्षणा 228, 229.

हलन्तस्य 230.

हलन्तलक्षणायाः 230.

हलादेः 139, 232.

हाशि 139.

हस्ती 11, 46.

हस्तासः 33.

हसति 109, 139.

हसितम् 70.

हसेत् 109.

हि 21, 29, 41, 46, 48, 53-55,

61, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73,

74, 78, 80, 81, 88, 89, 91,

93, 94, 97, 100, 105, 109,

110, 112, 114, 119, 120,

126-128, 130, 138, 150,

153, 155, 156, 158, 162,

164-169, 171, 172, 181,

182, 184, 186, 189-193,

198-201, 206, 208, 213,

214, 218, 219, 229.

हिकृति 109.

हिकृतम् 70.

हिञेत् 109.

हिनस्ति 30.

हिंसेः 154.

हिरण्येन 196.

हे, हो.

हे 215.

हेतवः 85.

हेतुः 155.

हेऽन्यः 25, 27.

होत् 115.

होतृकारः 115.

INDEX OF IMPORTANT EXPRESSIONS

A

- Abhivādana 32.
 Abhyantraprayatna 88, 91.
 Ādhāna 32.
 Agnihōtra 41.
 Antiranālar 2.
 Akṣara-samāmnāya 175.
 Amarakōśa 7.
 Ambiguous 82.
 Annambhaṭṭa 43, 57, 85.
 Aṅgas 65.
 Aposabdas 12.
 Apostate 110.
 Arthavāda 26.
 Asiddhaprakaraṇa 145.
 Astronomy 23.
 Asuras 25.
 Atharvavēda 13-15.
 Augment 85, 153, 154.

B

- Bahuvrīhi 24.
 Bhartṛhari 4, 7, 18, 43, 53.
 Bhattachāji Dīkṣit 7, 179.
 Birth 57.
 Bōdhyāyana Dharmasūtra 59.
 Bōdhāyana Grhyasūtra 119.
 Brāhmā 9.
 Brāhmaṇa 36.
 Brahmanavidyā 15.
 Brahmayajña 13.

C

- Causal 80.
 Cēṇāvaraiyar 2.
 Chakravartī P. C. 50.
 Correctively 196.
 Commentary 73, 201.
 Contradictory 62.
 Counter-example 73.
 Current 61, 63.

D

- Darśapūrnāmāsa 32.
 Demerit 67, 70.
 Descriptive grammar 21.
 Destruction 57.
 Dharma 50.
 Dharmasāstras 41.
 Dharmasūtrakāra 42.
 Dharmasūtras 13, 38, 42.
 Dhātupāṭha 11.
 Dhvani 49.
 Differentiating capacity 198, 199.
 Differentiating element 198-200.
 Doubling 161-163.
 Dravidian languages 121.
 Durgācārya 40.
 Dvandva Compound 222.
 Dvitiyā 5.

E

- Elation 21, 128, 129, 142, 153, 154, Example 73.
Existence 57, 158, 162, 163, 167.

F

- Filling-up the ellipse 73.
Flow of words 106.
Form 63.
Frog-leap 209, 211.

G

- Gāutama 19.
Genus 49, 55, 56, 81.
Gingelly seed 152.
Gold 56.
Grammar 1.
Grammatical treatise by Indra 4
Growth 57.

H

- Hanūmān 1.
Harsh 82.
History 65.
Holder of books 194.
Historical grammar 21.

I

- Ideas 63.
Inaudible 82.
Indian Historical Quarterly 50.
Inflection 59.
Individuality 17, 40, 55, 81, 106.
Interdependence 193.
Intervocalic 151.
It-ness 57.

J

- Jaiminiya sūtra 102.
Jñāpaka 3, 91, 97, 127-129, 204, 205, 207, 232.

K

- Kadali-vivāha 110.
Kāyāta 7, 8, 12, 18-20, 24, 31, 45, 50, 59, 88, 160.
Kalpa 36, 44.
Kambōja 66.
Kāmya-karma 20, 23.
Karma 130, 131.
Kārya 49, 52, 58.
Kātyāyana Prātisākhya 120.
Kudala D. 15.

L

- Laghumañjūsā 86.
Lāukika incident 50, 60.
Lāukika śabdas 11-13.
Lāukika words 44, 176.
Lengthened 82.
Literature 1.

M

- Mac-Donell 121.
 Made-eases for the performance
 of rituals 23.
 Madhyanā 17.
 Māgha 6.
 Manam 71.
 Maṇḍanaśrī 20.
 Mangala 8, 9, 11, 54, 55, 101.
 Maṅgalapāṭha 5.
 Māhāśvara sūtras 79, 91, 92, 95,
 126, 187.
 Maruṣis 35.
 Maṇḍanamā 7.
 Mantra 35.
 Manyness 184.
 Marakkal 152.
 Māṭṛkāksara 79.
 Meet-able 60.
 Merit 67, 70, 71.
 Metanalysis 143.
 Metathesis 153, 154.
 Mlēccha 25.
 Modification 22.
 Mōksa 40.
 Morphology 187.
 Mud 56.
 Muṇḍakōpaniṣad 15.

N

- Nācīkātacaryana 69.
 Nāgēśabhaṭṭa 4, 7, 12, 18, 19, 22,
 24, 34, 36, 40, 45, 46, 51, 57,
 85, 100.
 Nāruktas 36.
 Nasalisation 148, 199.
 Nipāta 34-36.
 Nirukta 28, 34-36, 38, 40, 43.
 Nitya 49-58.
 Nitya-karma 20, 23, 64.
 Nisēdha 229.
 Niyama 135.
 Niyamavādhī 38.
 Non-grammarian 22, 29, 30.
 Non-meetable 60.
 Non-use 64.
 Northerners 60.
 Not clear 82.
 Nyāya 114, 196, 197.

O

- Officiating priest 27.
 Oneness 184.

P

- Pāṇiniyaśikṣā 120.
 Parā 17.
 Paripāmāṇīyatā 57.
 Paśasa 86.
 Paśasāhnikā 6-86.
 Paśyanti 17.
 Philologists 121.
 Phonetics 23.
 Phonology 187.
 Pinta 26.
 Pradīpe 46, 57.
 Pradīpikā 43, 46, 53, 149, 152,
 160, 174.
 Pradhvāṇsāṇīyatā 57.
 Prakṛti 76.
 Prakṛti-bhāva 26.

Pranava 131.
 Prātisākhya 121.
 Pratyāhāra 117, 118.
 Prayāja 32.
 Prayōjana 23.
 Prohibition 163.

Rahasyam 65.
 Reduction 57.
 Repetition 234.
 Restriction 60, 61.

Śabdakāustubha 7, 86.
 Śabdamayidarpaṇa 143.
 Sacrifice 27.
 Sadṛśasaṅgraha 77.
 Sāman 36.
 Sāmavēda 13-15, 65.
 Sāmavēda Grhyaparīṣiṣṭa 110.
 Sāmavēdina 119.
 Samsargānityatā 57.
 Saṅgraha 1, 49.
 Sānti 5.
 Śatapatha 188.
 Sāyaṇācārya 34, 38, 43.
 Shaking 82.
 Shape 56, 104.

Taittirīya Prātisākhya 120.
 Tamil language 89.
 Tattva 57.

Udāta 24.
 Uddyōta 7, 57, 65, 183, 191, 210.
 Uddyōtana 43, 64, 86, 90.
 Upanayana 44.

Prolonged 82.
 Prosody 23.
 Prayrttiannūta 108.
 Puṇyārāja 4.
 Purāṇas 65.

R

Rgvēda 13, 15, 36, 38, 40, 43, 65.
 Rk 36.
 Rtikāla 38.

S

Shortened 82.
 Śloka 30.
 Śloka-vārtikakāra 174.
 Smṛti 60.
 Speech-thunderbolt 27.
 Sphōṭa 49.
 Śruti 60.
 Stability 57.
 Siddhāntakāumudī 7.
 Southern India 89.
 Śravaṇa 71.
 Substitution 153, 154.
 Sang 82.
 Sarāstra 66.
 Svata 13, 24, 66.

T

Tatpuruṣa compound 124, 125, 151, 202.
 Tolkāppiyam 2.
 Transformation 57.
 Trayōdaśī 5.

U

Upaniṣads 65.
 Upanayana 34-36.
 Upōdghata 86.

V

Vaidika incident 50, 60.
Vaidikaśabdaś 11-13.
Vaidika words 176.
Vāikhari 17, 18.
Vākya-pāṇini 4, 18.
Varṇa 26.
Vārāncī 3.
Vēdānta bhāṣyaś 5.
Vēdic interpretation 23.
Vēdic rituals 60.

Viparīṭṭavyāvṛtti 76.
Viśaya 11.
Vivaraṇabhāṣya 10.
Vowel-laws 106.
Vyādi 1, 3, 49.
Vyākṛti 76.
Vyakti 49.
Vyāsas 5.
Vyavahāra 182.

W

Well-sinker 71.

Whey 61.

Y

Yajamāna 32.
Yajurveda 13-15, 22, 65.
Yajus 36.

Yōgasūtra 5.
Yōgavāha 143.
Yōgavibhāga 225.



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